Apartheid. USA 1988

Willem Oltmans

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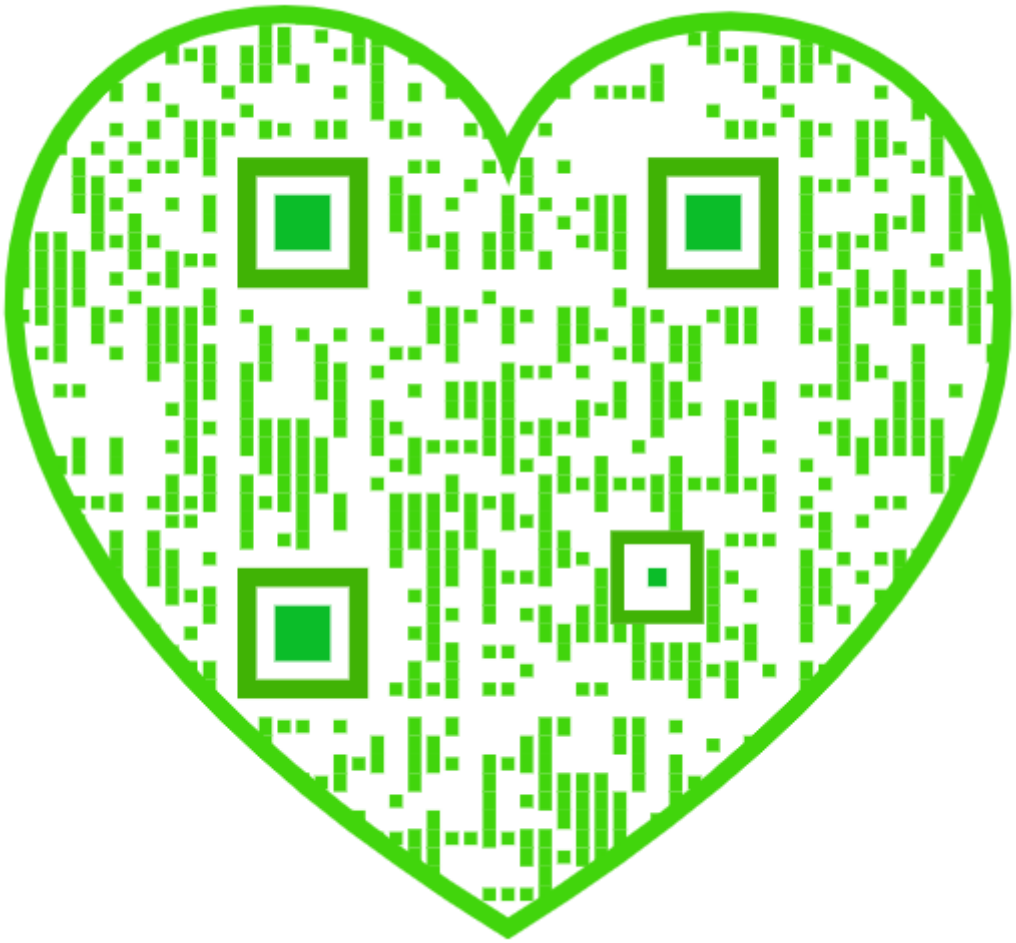


Foreword

The collected data in this book make shocking reading indeed. Whether the reader is black, coloured or white, the racial strife and suffering of the black poor in the United States, or anywhere else in the world, including South Africa, have to be condemned as totally unacceptable in the present stage of modern civilization when taking into account the advances of science and technology. The backwardness of people with another skin 'as bleached white', as historian Arnold Toynbee once said, is a contradiction to our basic humanity. Racial inequality has to be eradicated wherever this has been maintained. 'Apartheid' poisons the life of all men.

The details presented here deal only with the visible tip of the iceberg. From my own experience of travelling in the United States, (I regretfully admit) I have concluded that American society at large remains riddled with racial injustice and dismal inequality between blacks and whites. In spite of a half-century of efforts to eradicate American apartheid, I am sorry to say, discrimination prevails through all layers of the so-called New World.

Actually, the report compiled by Dutch journalist, Willem Oltmans clearly underlines the huge problems ahead for South Africa, where contrary to the United States, so many different black histories, cultures, and languages compete with one another for their rightful and democratic place within the boundaries of the Republic. Blacks in America are Americans with a black skin, who speak one language and have adopted a similar way of life as white Americans. Therefore, I strongly recommend this up-to-date overview of realities in the United States in the late eighties. The report is factual, accurately documented and based on impeccable sources. It presents a mere shadow of the multiple problems South Africa is faced with.

NELSON T BOTILE
Mayor of the black township of Soweto (1987 - October 1988)

Preface

Returning from my first visit to South Africa in December 1986, I came across an article in the *New York Times* concerning Richard Wright's famous novel, *Native Son*, published as long ago as 1940. The original edition is stored in the British Museum, of all places, and carries an introduction by Dorothy Canfield. She wrote, 'How to produce neuroses in sheep and psychopatic upsets in rats and other animals has been known to research scientists for so long, that accounts of these experiments have filtered out to us, the general public.' She went on, 'Our (American) society puts negro youths in a situation of the animal in the psychological laboratory in which a neurosis is to be caused. *Native Son* is the first report in fiction we have had from those who succumb to these distracting cross-currents of contradictory nerve impulses, from those whose behavior patterns give evidence of the same bewildered, senseless tangle of abnormal nerve-reactions studied in animals by psychologists in laboratory experiments.'[1.]

That was the exact moment I decided to collect and compile the information contained in this book. I had first come to the United States in 1948, presumably when Wright was recording *Native Son*. I attended Yale College at the time. Even going down as far south as Washington DC, one was confronted with the most blatant forms of 'apartheid' imaginable, dimensions of racial segregation no longer to be found in South Africa today. It was a dozen years prior to President John F Kennedy using the Army in the South to get a handful of black pupils into an all-white school. Now, 25 years hence, the United States lectures the world, and especially South Africa, for its racial problems and social inequalities between blacks and whites. Surely, some of this criticism is wholly justified and very much in order, but for the United States, and its lawmakers, to feel entitled to punish South Africa - regardless of the fact that a majority

1. The *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, December 7, 1986.

of its black citizens suffer most from self-righteous American attitudes - seems to me ludicrous in the extreme and approaches gangsterism. It shows once more US ignorance of foreign realities.

I have lived as a journalist, author and lecturer in the United States since 1958. Anyone who assumes that Americans have solved their own minority problems between ruling white classes and blacks, Hispanics, Indians and all other disadvantaged groups in society, is dreaming. Data offered here from the *New York Times*, and some other responsible sources, clearly demonstrate that while blacks constitute only a relatively small group of American citizens, 'apartheid'-problems have far from disappeared from the American scene. When I submitted this manuscript to ex-mayor Nelson Botile of Soweto, his first reaction was, 'Every black person in South Africa should read this report.' I am grateful to him for his foreword to this edition.

Having now completed five fact-finding assignments here over the past two years, I am not presenting the continuing racial strife in the United States in an effort to minimize the seriousness of lingering segregation in South Africa. Eventually, 'apartheid' is doomed wherever it has endured. What this report does intend to demonstrate is that, following some forty years of concentrated efforts to eliminate racial barriers, the black minority in the US is far from liberated. There are some who believe that liberation will come, provided all citizens are granted the right to vote. Not tomorrow, or next week, but today at noon. The history of blacks in America who do possess the right to vote, does not suggest however, that racial barriers between blacks and whites seized to exist once blacks were granted an equal right to cast their votes. On the contrary, in 1988, blacks are still under-represented at all levels of decisionmaking processes. What I do mean to stress, is that to bring the black majority of South Africa across the board on a more equal psychological, social, economic and political footing with the white minority will be unquestionably a

protracted operation that could be likened to the incredibly difficult task of separating the heads of Siamese twins, Mpho and Mphonyana in Soweto's Baragwanath Hospital in 1988. The healing of social injustice needs patience, understanding and an intelligent approach. It is not wishful thinking that will bring freedom to all South Africans, or for that matter, unbridled emotionalism or senseless terrorism. We are talking of a reversal of a state of mind and the recognition of the basic dignity of all humanity.

I would also like to express gratitude to Carl Nöffke, director of the America Institute at the Rand Afrikaans University for co-sponsoring the publication of this sober tableau of racial realities in the United States between the end of 1986 and the spring of 1988. Some of the loud-mouthed critics of South Africa abroad should perhaps have another close look at the lingering mess existing within the borders of the lands in which they administer their own responsibility. To assume that limpet-mines will alter a state of mind, or as Mrs Winnie Mandela has done, to shout 'we will necklace South Africa to freedom', is besides posturing criminal behaviour, the surest way NOT to serve the imperative interests of the black majority. Nor will sanctions do the job, as some clergymen who are not supported by the black masses in South Africa and mostly represent themselves, advocate. Or, as Dr. Victor Dhlomo, Zulu Minister of Education, put the question during a conversation we had in Ulundi, 'Do we have to destroy South Africa in order to destroy 'apartheid?'

I would like to think that the reading of this report would contribute to a more sober view of the current struggle to eliminate step by step the wholly unjust system of 'apartheid' in South Africa, especially when it is realized once more, with the facts in hand, how difficult it is to erase racial inequality from the minds of all people, even in a society like the United States.

WILLEM OLTMANS
Johannesburg, December 1988

December 19, 1986:

Robert Nelson, chairman of the United States Interior Department special study group that prepared a report on economic conditions in American Indian reservations[2.] told the *New York Times*, 'It looks like things are getting worse.' The study found that 41 percent of American Indians in reservations were living below the poverty level, compared to 12 percent of the total US population who were in a similar predicament. It also found that the total unemployment among males 20 to 64 years old in the reservations, including 'discouraged workers' who had stopped seeking work, was 58 percent, compared to an average of 12 percent among all Americans.[3.]

December 14, 1986:

Educators and civil rights leaders are becoming increasingly worried over what they fear is a proliferation of racial incidents on college campuses around the country. Officials at colleges and experts in race relations say that these incidents seem to be part of a growing pattern of bigotry and animosity toward minority students at predominantly white schools. The episodes include fights between black and white students. At the University of Texas a group was formed calling themselves the 'Aryan Collegiates'. Their aim is to rid the campus of 'outspoken minorities'. In Tuscaloosa, white students of the University of Alabama burned a cross in front of a new black sorority house. At The Citadel in Charleston, South Carolina, the FBI investigated a case in which five white students wearing sheets and carrying a burning paper cross taunted a black cadet in his dormitory bed.

The *Times* report further mentioned various factors, line

2. The USA variant of South African homelands
3. The *New York Times*, by Deirdre Carmody

perceived differences in the standards applied by college admissions officers to minority students, cutbacks in Federal student aid, and political divisions over anti-apartheid protests. Although some college administrators maintain that incidents of racial violence and harassment are rare and are sometimes blown out of proportion by the press, officials at many institutions acknowledge that confrontations appear to be racially motivated. Racial disharmony will also lead to a further drop in black student enrollment. In 1972 black students constituted 3 percent in four-year institutions. This figure rose in 1976 to 10.3 percent, but dropped in 1982, the latest year for which figures were available, to 9.6 percent.[4.]

December 19, 1986:

Harlem, once envisioned as an enclave for the white middle class, is these days a true black ghetto. Real estate speculators moved in. For instance, 215 West 116th Street, once luxurious, is nowadays a forlorn apartment building with 38 units and has changed hands five times over the past six years, its price rising from 6 000 dollars to more than 600 000 dollars. Throughout this period, few major repairs have been made. Residents point to rats, leaky ceilings, corroded pipes and broken drains. One resident after another showed the holes and gashes that rats use. ‘The way they walk around the house,’ said Tonya Byrd, a 20-year-old, who lives with her great-aunt, Mrs King, ‘you'd think they pay the rent.’[5.]

4. Lena Williams from Washington DC.
5. The *New York Times*, from a report by Samuel G Freedman

December 22, 1986:

Yesterday more than 50 detectives searched homes near Howard Beach, Queens, a suburb of Manhattan, where a black man was struck and killed by a car while he and two other black men tried to flee a gang of whites who attacked them. The assailants of the three blacks were believed to number 9 to 12 whites. Officer James Coleman said that the attackers beat the black men with baseball bats and sticks as they left a pizza parlor on Cross Bay Boulevard. The dead man was Michael Griffith, 23 years old and a construction worker from the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. Mayor Edward Koch compared the crime to 'the kind of lynching party that took place in the Deep South'. But whites, in large groups near Howard Beach, articulated angry views. They said that blacks regularly ventured into the area only to commit crimes, prompting residents to hire Pinkerton guards to patrol the streets. 'They come in the neighborhood and rob everybody. It is a known fact. That's why everybody has a thing about them,' said a 23-year-old white construction worker. Terrence Reid, a 22-year-old black was nearly run over by a taxi driver. 'Instead of apologizing,' Mr Reid said, the driver shouted, 'you blacks shouldn't be getting loud in a white area. You can see the prejudice in people's faces.'[6.]

In Jefferson Parish, a suburb consisting of 84 percent of whites in New Orleans, Louisiana, the sheriff, Harry Lee, a Chinese-American, got himself into hot water following remarks he made during a news conference on December 2nd. Sheriff Lee announced a new strategy for combating a sharp increase in crime. 'If there are some young blacks driving a car late at night in a predominantly white area, they will be stopped,' he said. The next day he rescinded his order and apologized to black organisations and others who might have found his remark offensive. He then said

6. The *New York Times*, by James Barron and Jane Gross

that deputies would stop blacks only ‘for probable cause’. Nevertheless, many whites indicated they believed the sheriff was right the first ‘time.’ However, he should not have said ‘blacks’, Mrs Dale Starr said, ‘he should have said “suspicious characters”. Everyone would have known who he meant.’[7.]

December 23, 1986:

The Howard Beach murder remains much in the news. ‘I know racism hasn't been eliminated,’ Julius Staten, a retired postal worker, said as he polished the back of his car across Pacific Street. ‘But you would think people would be more brotherly... Ours is supposed to be a free society.’ Standing in a nameless corner luncheonette, the manager of the local gas station, Bernard Fullins, said the incident made him think about his school days, ‘when the white kids used to chase us home with their dogs.’[8.]

The car that killed Michael Griffith was driven by 24-year-old Dominick Blum, a Court officer from Brooklyn. He, and three companions, Jon L Lester (17), born in South Africa, Gregory Lasak (17) and Scott Kern (17) were arrested and being held on a general charge of felonious assault, with the degree not specified. Benjamin Ward, the black Police Commissioner of New York City, and Queens District Attorney, John J Santucci said that the suspects would be prosecuted to the limit of the law.[9.]

7. The *New York Times*, from report by Frances Frank Marcus
8. The *New York Times*, from report by Robert O Boorstin
9. The *New York Times*, from report by James Barron

December 24, 1986:

In Selma, Alabama, some 100 blacks who live outside the city in small, gray structures that have no running water and rent for 40 dollars a month are to move into Government subsidized housing at Craig Field, formerly a World War II Air Force base until it was closed in 1977. T H Willis, a white storekeeper who has owned the homes for about 10 years, reacted angrily when asked about the impending move. He said most of the tenants owed him money for purchases made at his store for credit.[10.]

National civil rights leaders and other prominent blacks are citing the Howard Beach incident as the latest in a growing list of incidents involving racial violence and intimidation not only against Blacks, but also against members of other minorities. They cited as examples an assault by a gang of white men in Boston on two Cambodian refugees, injuring one of them fatally. They named an incident in Camden, New Jersey, in which a white youth in a car ran down a 7-year-old Hispanic boy, fatally injuring the child.[11.]

December 28, 1986:

On Chicago's South Side stand the high-rise buildings of the Robert Taylor Homes, the world's largest public housing project, where 20.000 residents, virtually all black, live in concentrated poverty. Victoria Barton looks younger than 17 years old. Her first child is expected in February. The unmarried teenager who lives in the project with her mother and some of her nine sisters and brothers, admits she is worried about feeding and caring for an infant. However, a special project is set up that will see to it that expectant mothers receive prenatal care so that their children escape the social and medical costs of low birth weight. The under-

10. The *New York Times* as reported by the Associated Press
11. The *New York Times*, from a report by Lena Williams

taking, supported by an unusual mix of government and private financing, is largely the inspiration of Irving B Harris, a Chicago businessman who has poured 20 million dollars into philanthropic projects.[12.]

Professor Ross K Baker of the political science department of Rutgers University published on the Op-Ed page of the *Times* some comments under the headlines EXPECT MORE RACISM. 'We need to be reminded that blacks and whites live side by side harmoniously in very few places in America - even though overt expressions of racism are no longer fashionable and part of the popular culture. Especially television sit-coms, depict blacks more favorably than it did a generation ago.' Pointing out that blacks remained economically the disadvantaged in America, Professor Baker continued, 'Whites' exorcism of racism must begin not with pieties but with bedrock efforts to eliminate the economic gulf between blacks and whites. Old-fashioned Democratic largesse is not the answer. Black and white Americans have lived together in a political system that has been legally color blind for only one generation. The onset of that generation was preceded by Jim Crow in many parts of the country. We are so remote from the melancholy past that we will not be contaminated by its horrors. Slavery has been dead merely 121 years - not long in a nation's history. We are not so far along on the road of progress that upbeat sit-coms depicting black-white harmony and TV's black role models can be taken as a measure of real progress.'[13.]

December 29, 1986:

Mayor Edward Koch went to Our Lady of Grace Roman Catholic Church on 159th Avenue, a short walk from where 23-year-old black Michael Griffith lost his life nine days ago in a racial attack by a group of white men. Koch found

12. The *New York Times*, from a report by Kathleen Teltsch
13. The *New York Times*, page opposite the editorial page

himself interrupted, booed, shouted down and snubbed. Shouts of 'Go home', 'Resign' and 'You have no right here' greeted the Mayor's arrival. Within minutes after Mr Koch opened the session to questions, the discussion degenerated in a verbal cross-fire. 'You want a racial war?' asked one woman, while another shouted, 'Where were you when we women were being robbed and mugged, mainly from these poor, underprivileged people coming into our neighborhood?' Mayor Koch kept saying that racism existed everywhere, that the only way to address it was to acknowledge it and discuss it.[14.]

January 2, 1987:

Larry Davis is regarded by New York blacks, if not as a folk hero for his violent actions and evading a massive manhunt by 150 policemen for 17 days, at least as an embodiment of their festering frustration with the police. Davis managed to wound six police officers in his shoot-out with the law. 'The reason black people feel the police are the enemy is because of the service they get,' said Detective Roger Abel, president of the Guardians Association, an organization of 2 000 black police officers in New York City. 'You go to a place like 124th and Lennox or 118th and 8th, and you see prostitutes and junkies hanging around. You don't get that at Park Avenue or in Riverdale. And there's no way you can tell me the police can't get those people off the streets.'

The adulation of a violent criminal such as Mr Davis begins with the American national character, criminologists say, and is heightened by the subculture of the black ghetto. 'In American history, there has always been a romanticism about the gunman, going down to Billy the Kid, Jesse James, Bonnie and Clyde,' said Professor Marvin E Wolfgang, a professor of criminology and law at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. 'There's something in-

14. The *New York Times*, from a report by Joyce Purnick

volved in the wishes, desires, fantasies that people can't express directly, but can vicariously through other people or fictional characters. ‘Many residents of American black ghettos,’ Professor Wolfgang said, ‘share the national aspiration for status and material comfort, but feel unable to reach them through conventional routes because of discrimination and diminished opportunities. Violent behavior is an attempt to get the goods through other means, means that can become the subculture norms,’ he said.[15.]

January 4, 1987:

Cedric Sandiford (36), a key witness in the Howard Beach racial attack, flanked by his lawyers and other blacks during a crowded news conference at the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, said that the police had disputed and discounted portions of his story from the start. The police had treated him more like a criminal than a victim and had conducted ‘a masquerade investigation’. He continued, ‘they only wanted to hear part of it and they tried to discredit the other part of it.’ Mr Sandiford's lawyers have contended repeatedly that he told the police he saw a car strike and kill his companion. The police maintained Mr Sandiford told them he did not witness the crash.[16.]

January 7, 1987:

‘Howard Beach,’ wrote Jack Beatty, senior editor at the *Atlantic Magazine* on the Op-Ed-page of the *Times*, ‘springs from the primal urban nightmare - having your car break down in the “wrong” neighborhood. Every American city has “wrong” neighborhoods: places where a white can't go, places where a black can't go.’ Racial division, all by

15. The *New York Times*, from a report by Samuel G Freedman
16. The *New York Times*, from a report by Robert D McFadden

itself, breeds prejudice. And so we would expect to find that the whites charged with the racial assault in Howard Beach had had no mollifying contacts with Blacks. In another passage, collegue Beatty referred to Howard Beach residents shouting to Mayor Koch, ‘go back to the synagogue.’ ‘Biologists know how deeply rooted the territorial instinct is,’ he continued. Territorial instinct is part of nature and also part of us. It is especially tenacious in those of us who make a virtue of our rootedness - who can't afford to move out, away, on, or up. Howard Beach showed further that American liberals reposed too much faith in the plasticity of human nature. South African born Jon Lester's relationship with black Ernestine Washington did not immunize him against murderous tribal emotions. ‘Out of the crooked timber of humanity no straight thing was ever made.’ Applied to Howard Beach, Immanuel Kant's aphorism lights up a region of being whose hurts politics can inflame but not heal.

Middletown, New York has a population of 23 000 and is 8 percent black. There are no blacks among the town's 51 police officers. No one is sure exactly what happened last December at the movies. But at some point, Jimmy Lee Bruce jr and his friends became boisterous and were escorted out of the theatre by two off-duty police officers. Bruce (20), and black, became involved in a struggle with one of the. officers, Harold Simpson (40), who held the young man in a choke-hold, even as he was weakening and pleading that he gave up. New York State Police are trained to use a choke-hold - where the arms are placed around the neck, cutting off the flow of oxygen to the brain - only as an alternative to using a deadly weapon. But NY police officers are also trained to use the choke-hold only if a life is in danger. Less than one hour after the scuffle, Jimmy Bruce was dead of asphyxiation caused by compression on the neck, according to a preliminary autopsy report.[17.]

17. The *New York Times*, from a report by Neil A Lewis

January 9, 1987:

Alton H Maddox, lawyer for one of the three black men attacked by white teenagers at Howard Beach, charged that the police and the prosecutors are covering up evidence and 'making a case' for the white defendants. Mayor Koch again discussed racial attitudes at an awards ceremony for the Racial and Ethnic Harmony Poetry Contest. Koch said, 'We have to not only recognize that racism, regrettably, is too alive and too well and that we have to do even more than we have done to deal with it... The best place to deal with it must be with the children.'[18.]

January 11, 1987:

Trustee Henrietta Holsman of Wellesley College in suburban Boston, Massachusetts, addressed the student body in which she claimed that blacks preferred pushing drugs to working in a factory. Miss Holsman who graduated from Wellesley in 1970, runs a manufacturing concern in Los Angeles. She had also found Hispanic workers to be lazy, white workers resentful of having to work with machines, and Asians, while very productive, likely to move on to professional and management jobs. She said, seventy percent of her workers were members of minority groups. Her remarks precipitated an emotional debate on this bucolic campus already grappling with charges of racial insensitivity. There are only 2 blacks among the 124 tenured professors at Wellesley. Of the 1 250 students, 133 are black, 6 percent more than five years ago. Last fall, 50 students were arrested protesting Wellesley's ownership of stock in companies that do business in South Africa. Their effort to pressure the trustees to vote for divestment failed. Trustees voting 17 to 14 rejected the move.[19.]

18. The *New York Times*, from a report by James Barron
19. The *New York Times*, from a report by Fox Butterfield

January 12, 1987:

Many black leaders agree that the racial attack in Howard Beach, Queens, has underscored the seriousness of New York City's racial problems and the need for strong actions to change the attitudes and conditions that prompt such attacks. However it is widely acknowledged that the incident reopened a schism between established black leaders and more militant blacks over specific goals and clear strategy. Some of the more militant blacks say they want to change 'the system', while elected black leaders talk in more pragmatic language about making the system work.[20.] Public school systems, colleges and universities as well as a variety of industries throughout the country, have undertaken efforts to improve the status of minority members in technical and science disciplines, because of the severe underrepresentation of minorities in these fields. A 1986 study by the National Science Foundation titled 'Women and Minorities in Science and Engineering' found that blacks account only for 2.3 percent of all employed scientists and engineers, though they represent 10 percent of the overall American work force. Hispanics make up 5 percent of all employed persons but account for only 2 percent of all scientists and engineers. Blacks and Hispanics in engineering schools, for example, are said to have an attrition rate of about 65 percent compared with about 35 percent for white students. When blacks and Hispanics do obtain science degrees, they are likely to be in the social sciences and psychology.[21.]

20. The *New York Times*, from a report by Ronald Smothers
21. The *New York Times*, Educational Section, by Calvin Sims

January 13, 1987:

Michael Meyers teaches political science at Mercy College and is co-director of RACE Inc., (the Research and Advocacy Center for Equality), a civil rights organization. He contributed some of the following remarks to the Op-Ed page of the *Times*. 'The one good thing to come out of the tragic beating at Howard Beach last month was the hope it raised of rejuvenating a multiracial civil rights movement in New York City. But that hope is already vanishing, ruined by black extremists determined to exploit racial polarization rather than join forces with decent whites committed to a racially integrated city.' Meyers asked himself why those black leaders, who went to City Hall to discuss the problems with Mayor Koch had to be labelled 'Uncle Toms'. 'To what do we owe this bitter rhetoric which sets blacks against blacks and all blacks against whites?' Meyers believed it came from men concerned above all with their own political agenda. They called for a one-day boycott of all 'white-owned' businesses. Others have called for the resignation of the black Police Commissioner, Benjamin Ward, whom they regard as 'a puppet of the white power structure'. Others went as far as to urge a city-wide boycott of pizzerias for no other reason than that the three black victims encountered their white assailants in a pizzeria. 'Apparently, some black radicals take it that all white-owned businesses are discriminatory, that they are all somehow responsible for the heinous crimes in Howard Beach or that the creation of a separate black economy could bring racism to its knees. Of course, a separate black economy, like a separate black nation within our nation, would not defeat racism; it could only replicate the idiocy of those whites who judge and exclude people on the basis of skin color.' Professor Meyers concluded: 'As usual in such situations, where racial tempers rise, the hothead extremists have found the centre of the stage. Eventually, we must believe, they will trip themselves, as they are already doing by exposing their self-serving goals.

The people they seek to lead have not been fooled. Yet the hypocrisy of this racemongering should embarrass us all. It offends both reason and human decency while it diverts us from justice.'[22.]

January 14, 1987:

Eastside High School is an inner-city educational institution in Paterson, New Jersey. It had gradually become 'a caldron of terror and violence', until Joe Clark, a black educator became principal in 1982. He began personally to patrol the hallways with bullhorn and baseball bat in hand. He restored order in a record time and was praised for it by students and parents alike. In 1982 he began by throwing out 300 of the 3 000 students. They were 'the leeches, miscreants and hoodlums'. Eastside High is made up almost entirely of black and Hispanic students many of whom are poor. New Jersey State officials include Patterson High among nine school districts 'on the verge of educational bankruptcy'. In 1986 620 students dropped out or were forced out at Eastside High. In three years 1 904 left school. At the city's other high school, John F Kennedy, 365 out of 2 200 students left. Paterson's superintendent of schools, Dr Frank Napier asked, 'What happened to these kids? People don't want to know the answer. Who cares about minority kids getting an education?' Eastside High scores on a state-wide proficiency test at the end of the freshman year are rising. Still, in 1986, fewer than half of the Eastside High School passed math and writing compared to statewide averages of 77 percent and 85.9 percent. At Eastside High only 52.2 percent passed a state-wide reading test compared with 91 percent state-wide.[23.]

22. The *New York Times*, from the Op-Ed page
23. The *New York Times*, from a report by Sara Rimer

January 14, 1987:

Homicides, shootings among teenagers and the seemingly intractible spread of cocaine and its derivative, crack[24a.], rose sharply during 1986 in some of the nation's largest cities. New York City had 1 309 homicides in the first 10 months of 1986. It was almost 20 percent higher than during the same period in 1985. In Washington DC the homicide rate rose more than 60 percent. In Chicago, Miami, Boston, Philadelphia, St Louis, Baltimore and Dallas increases were recorded up 20 percent over the last year. Although drugs were considered a leading culprit - in Los Angeles half of the 820 homicides were considered drug-related - it is the rashness of some slayings that alarmed authorities everywhere. Victims were killed for anything from lottery tickets to parking spaces. In Detroit teenagers were killed for silk shirts and gym shoes. Two policemen were killed by citizens who mistook them for criminals in one case, and an 18-year-old killed a college student for 80 cents and some ice cream. One mother called the Detroit City Council office to say she could not be responsible for what her strapping teenaged son did. 'Lock him up,' she said.[24.]

January 15, 1987:

The National Urban League released a 234-page report, *The State of Black America*, asserting that black Americans have been made victims of the Reagan Administration policies, that are 'morally unjust', 'economically unfair' and have widened the economic and social gap between the races. John E Jacob, president of the League, said that Government figures showed that by 1985 the median income of blacks had declined to 56 percent of the white median income. The unemployment rate among adult

24a. Crack is a particularly potent form of cocaine.
24. The *New York Times*, from a report by Isabel Wilkerson

blacks was 15 percent in 1985, as against 7 percent for adult whites. Unemployment among black youths increased from 24.4 percent in 1960 to 40 percent by 1985. As a result, Mr Jacob said, hundreds of thousands of black youths 18 to 25 years old had never had a full-time job and were destined never to have one.[25.]

January 16, 1987:

Dr Ling-chi Wang, associate professor of Asian-American studies at the University of California at Berkeley, has discovered that after admissions of Asian students began reaching 10 or 12 percent at some of the most prestigious universities in the United States, 'a red light went on'. Since 1983 admissions at Berkeley, Stanford, MIT, Yale and other Ivy League schools have either stabilized or gone down. 'I don't want to say it was a conspiracy,' Dr Wang maintained, 'but I think all of the elite universities suddenly realized they had what used to be called "a Jewish problem" before World War II. They began to look for ways to slow down admissions of Asian students.' Some university officials say they are increasingly troubled by the potential for ethnic strife and political repercussions if more and more parents believe Caucasian children have been squeezed out of the state's best-known tax-supported university by a disproportionate number of Asian, black and Hispanic applicants. Whites constitute 62 percent of California's high-school graduates. But since 1977, the proportion of whites admitted as freshmen at Berkeley has fallen from 63 to 45 percent. Meanwhile, the proportion of Asians, about 10 percent of graduating classes in California, has risen from 21 to 26 percent at Berkeley for the freshman class. Many of these students are recent immigrants. The

25. The *New York Times*, from a report by Lena Williams

proportion of Hispanic and black freshmen is 11 and 8 percent.[26.]

January 19, 1987:

Mayor Edward I Koch of New York City published in the *Times* some thoughts on race, crime, prejudice and fear in the aftermath of Howard Beach. 'We cannot avoid the fact that crime in New York City is disproportionately committed by young men who are black,' wrote the Mayor. 'One recent estimate suggests that a young black man is 10 times more likely than his white counterpart to commit a robbery. Indeed, any given day approximately 57 percent of the inmates detained by the New York City Department of Correction are black.' Then the Mayor asked why this was so. 'One explanation reminds us that violent criminals are more likely to be poor and that blacks in contemporary America are disproportionately poor... A second explanation suggests that the disproportionately high crime rate among blacks in America must be understood as a cruel legacy of slavery and Jim Crow. No group has had such a painful experience in America. Centuries of oppression, the destruction of the American black family unit and forced economic dependency have, in this view, resulted in a pattern of anti-social behavior. Still another explanation suggests that black criminality is, to some extent at least, an artifact of a racist criminal justice system. Those who hold this view cite statistics showing that a black man is more likely to be stopped by the police and arrested for behavior that, had he been white, might have been overlooked. According to other statistics, once a black man is arrested, he is more likely to be convicted and sentenced to prison. Each of these explanations contains more than a kernel of truth. We should come to grips with the fact that for many whites, crime has a black face and, because in their minds

26. The *New York Times*, from a report by Robert Lindsey

race and crime have become inextricably intertwined, their fear of crime fuels a larger set of racial stereotypes and prejudices.' The Mayor then posed the question: 'How do we acknowledge understandable and appropriate fear of crime while condemning inexcusable and intolerable racial stereotyping?... To distinguish fear from racism, we should understand the role of racial stereotyping. Racism is defined by Webster's as the belief that one race is superior to another. Like its close cousins, religious and ethnic prejudice, racism consists of a set of attitudes, a bundle of beliefs, that provide a rationale and justification for overt acts of discrimination. The racist world view is expressed, in large measure, through racial stereotyping. Often these stereotypes have some basis in truth. The evil of stereotyping, however, is that characteristics of some members of a race or ethnic group are applied indiscriminately to the entire group. It may be true, for example, that the Mafia is made up of Italians. That does not mean that all Italians are involved in organized crime. Nor does the high incidence of criminality among black youths justify stereotyping black youths as criminals. The truth of the narrow proposition does not justify the broad stereotype.'[27.]

January 20, 1987:

Joseph N Cooper, director of the Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance resigned his post under protest saying that some Reagan Administration officials were paying only 'lip service' to the enforcement of anti-discrimination laws. Mr Cooper who is black has served as head of the contract compliance program for 17 months. He was hired by Labor Secretary, Bill Brock. Mr Cooper told the *Times* that Attorney-General Edwin Meese 3d and Assistant Attorney-General, William Bradford Reynolds, were among those in Washington who

27. The *New York Times*, Op-Ed page

sought to thwart Federal rules that require numerical hiring goals for companies that do business with the Government. These rules affect more than 20 000 companies employing 23 million workers at 70 000 sites.[28.]

The first hint of trouble for Gerard J Papa, (33), white, and a lawyer by profession, and James Rampersant jr (24), who works for his father's floor-cleaning and polishing company and who is black, that trouble was on the way were the headlights of another car coming directly towards them on a deserted Coney Island street. The other vehicle blocked the car of the two men and next they found themselves under fire by a barrage of bullets as they cowered on the floor of their automobile. When the firing stopped, Mr Papa said, he was dragged from the car by officers and beaten and kicked. Mr Rampersant said he, too, was kicked while lying handcuffed on the ground. 'When I asked what we had done, a cop put a gun to my head and said, "Shut up, or I'll blow your head off",' Mr Rampersant recalled. Later the police acknowledged that the arrests were a case of mistaken identity. Both men were stopped and fired at because they resembled a hold-up team - a Hispanic and a black man - wanted for the street robbery of a woman in the Coney Island neighborhood of Brooklyn six days earlier. Mr Papa and Mr Rampersant filed suit against the city in the State Supreme Court in Brooklyn.

In Buffalo, New York, Erie County Judge Joseph P McCarthy sentenced a man to life in prison after he had killed three black men 'solely for the color of their skin'. The killer, Joseph Christopher (31) would not be eligible for parole for 58 1/3 years. 'Your acts defy reason,' the judge said. Mr Christopher faces another trial for killing a black man in Niagara County.[29.]

28. The *New York Times*, from a report by Kenneth B Noble
29. The *New York Times*, by the Associated Press

January 21, 1987:

Verses from the Gospel of St John portray Jews as 'persecuting Jesus' and make frequent reference to 'the Jews' in negative ways. Two rabbis, a Roman Catholic priest, Father Elias Mallon and four laymen were discussing these matters at the headquarters of the Miami, Florida, Archdiocese. 'You have to be honest,' said Father Mallon, 'there are a lot of negative values that come from these lines.' The rabbis agreed. The discussion went to the heart of an international effort to confront what many agree is anti-Semitism in Roman Catholic teaching by rewriting study guides for parishioners to point out prejudicial statements against Jews. The project is sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

January 23, 1987:

One of the three white teenagers, Jon Lester (18), who attacked three black men in Howard Beach was convicted for manslaughter and assault to a maximum term in prison of 10 to 30 years. Justice Thomas A Demakos declared Lester had to serve a minimum of 10 years, 'because of his callousness toward the life of another human being which must not go unpunished. What happened at Howard Beach - and make no mistake about it - it was a racial incident that triggered off this violence. What should be obvious to everyone here is that racism breeds hatred and hatred breeds racism and it is a vicious circle.' Justice Demakos declared further, 'What kind of individual do I have before me, who after witnessing a young black man get crushed by a car, continues his reckless conduct by savagely beating another black male with a bat? Jon Lester showed during the attack on the black men no remorse, no sense of guilt,

no shame, no fear, therefore leniency was not in order.'[30.] Forsyth County, 30 miles north of Atlanta, Georgia has a long history of racism and anti-black vigilante violence.

In 1912, after a young white woman was raped and murdered, a mob broke into a jail and killed a black suspect in the case. Two other blacks were hanged after a quick trial. In the weeks after the woman's death, white vigilantes drove all of the county's blacks out of the county, and no biack people have lived there ever since. Despite a fivefold or sixfold growth in population since 1960, the county retained its image as a bastion of racial violence.

Last week some 50 black demonstrators from Atlanta had gone to Forsyth County to honor the memory of the late Martin Luther King. They were confronted by several hundred whites who threw stones and bottles, hitting several marchers.[31.]

January 24, 1987:

Cummings, Georgia is a small town of 2 000 of all white inhabitants in Forsyth County outside Atlanta, Georgia. Today, the village was flooded by an estimated 10 000 civil rights marchers. Georgia put on 'the greatest show of force the state had ever marshalled'. Cummings was overwhelmed with a force of some 2 300 sternfaced guardsmen and police officers restraining a pool of hundreds, if not thousands of white, mainly young, rural men and women, repeatedly shouting, 'Niggers go home!' Cummings approached gridlock as for hours Confederate (Southern) banners, caps and other emblems waved and bobbed in the crowd of Klan sympathizers and men in Ku Klux Klan uniforms mingled in military camouflage fatigues. Fourteen persons were arrested for possession of unspecified weapons as well as bows and arrows, fireworks, and for

30. The *New York Times*, from a report by Joseph P Fried
31. The *New York Times*, from a report by Dudley Clendinen

making a telephone bomb threat. ‘We hate niggers,’ someone in the crowd along the hilly roadside would shout, standing beneath a Confederate flag. ‘We love you,’ someone in the long column of black and white faces below would shout back. When the marchers shouted, ‘KKK has got to go, hey hey, ho ho,’ from the hilly roadside came the response, ‘KKK is here to stay.’[32.]

In San Francisco, just after midnight, during the school holidays, three police officers responded to a silent alarm indicating that someone had entered a local high school. A few minutes later a 15-year-old high school student lay dying in a darkened hallway, shot by one of the officers, who had seen the youth pointing a gun at him. What the teenager was armed with turned out to be a pellet-gun that was also a highly realistic reproduction of a. 357 Magnum Colt Python pistol. While it is illegal to sell or possess a pelletgun in San Francisco, such guns, as well as toy guns, have been used in crimes for years. Now, a new generation of non-lethal guns that closely resemble real pistols and submachine-guns is causing alarm among law-enforcement officials.[33.]

January 25, 1987:

Rabbi James Rudin of the American Jewish Committee recalled entering Cummings, Georgia two days ago and said he spoke from the perspective of a middle-aged man. ‘I have got to tell you, when we entered Cummings there was a real sense of dread. On both sides the march was primarily a phenomenon of the younger generation, black and white. From their place on the road, squeezed in by protective flanks of armored lawmen, the young faces looked up in silent incredulity at the invective pouring down on them from the crowd of whites of the same age

32. The *New York Times*, from a report by Dudley Clendinen
33. The *New York Times*, from a report by Katherine Bishop

atop a rise. ‘White trash! White trash nigger lovers!’, the whites above shouted at the whites below. ‘You are worse than a nigger!’ And to the upturned black faces, it was ‘Go home nigger! Go home!’ And then from the mouths of young women and men, some of them carrying babies and children on their shoulders, there was worse. They were young, bearded or stringy-haired, dressed in work caps and boots, plaid flannel shirts and jeans, military fatigues or bib overalls festooned with Confederate emblems, they had the unmistaken look of the poor white rural lower class. Larry G Wright (30), a machinist said, ‘A lot of it has to do with being born and raised right here, in Southern society. It's inbred in me and it's going to be inbred in my kids too. That's just the way it is. We are white and we are proud of it.’[34.]

Five Mississippi mayors have complained about New York Mayor Koch, who remarked about the Howard Beach affair on national television, ‘I had expected this kind of thing to happen in the deep South.’ Mayor WW Godbold of Brookhaven, Mississippi remarked to a reporter of a local newspaper, ‘That Jew bastard, I believe, Jews like him, who get in this office don't know the hell what they are talking about. It opens up wounds when he persists that the South has problems like this. Especially when he has murders up there every minute and he compares New York to Mississippi.’ Mayor Koch replied in a letter to Mr Godbold, ‘I do hope you were misquoted in today's paper when you referred to me as a “Jew bastard”.’ Even if Mr Godbold had said it, the New York Mayor would ‘turn the other cheek’. Later Mayor Godbold told the *Associated Press*, he had not meant to slur all Jews.[35.]

34. The *New York Times*, from a report by Dudley Clendinen
35. The *New York Times*, from a report by Joyce Purnick

January 26, 1987:

A study, reported in the *New York Times* by Richard P Nathan, professor of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University, presented facts and figures on what Professor Nathan called 'the real urban crisis'. He collected data in the 50 biggest US cities. Concentrated black poverty has become a central concern of many political scientists, who see increasing isolation of the poor as perpetuating the cycle of unemployment, broken families, teen-age pregnancy, crime and drug use. They also see it as the prime cause of deteriorating race relations. Whites, many of them living in all-white enclaves, fear that black poverty may spread into their areas, and they react in irrational ways, the experts say. As a result, black militance has increased until, in some communities, it is said to be the highest since the black urban riots of the 1960's and early 1970's. The Census Bureau considers extreme poverty those areas where 40 percent or more of the people are living below the poverty line. In 1980 the Government's official poverty line for a family of four was 8 414 dollars. In 1980 the combined population of the 50 biggest US cities was 37 815 907, a decline of 5 percent over a 10-year period. But the overall population for the 50 cities with income below the poverty level increased in the decade despite the overall population loss. It rose 11.7 percent to 6 708 464.

The number of poor whites, however, declined by 18 percent, while the number of poor blacks rose by 18 percent over the same 10 years. Cities became both blacker and poorer, with the blacks falling deeper into poverty while whites rose from poverty at the same rate, Professor Nathan's study showed. The Census Bureau showed an even sharper contrast in areas of extreme poverty, where it counted 1 124 344 blacks and only 260 884 whites. Therefore, it is largely the poor blacks in America whose numbers are increasing. Middle-class blacks have joined whites in many areas in moving to the suburbs, as several studies have shown.

January 27, 1987:

Clarence H Du Burns (68) was sworn in as Baltimore, Maryland's first black Mayor. Mr Burns had worked for 22 years as a locker attendant at a city high school before being elected to the City Council in 1971. He became Mayor automatically when William Donald Schaefer vacated this seat to become Governor of Maryland. 'What happened to me is a miracle that could only happen in America,' Mr Burns said. 'I am at the peak of a personal mountain-top, and the altitude is just fine... There are those who believe my academic credentials are inadequate. There are those who believe that I am not eloquent enough to speak as Mayor. They are entitled to their opinion; this is America, but you know what I think.' He continued, 'I will show no partiality to any race, sex, creed, religion or nationality. Nor will I condone such partiality from anyone in my Administration'. Blacks account for slightly more than half of the city's population of about 775 000.[36.]

January 28, 1987:

The civil rights leader, the Reverend Jesse Jackson commented on race-conscious behavior and recent racial incidents in the *Times* as follows. 'The truth is that black, white and Hispanic workers are economic neighbors, sharing assembly lines, lunch-rooms and public transportation. We wait in line together for unemployment insurance and for bleacher seats at the stadium where our young men perform as modern gladiators while the business elite enjoy their tax deductible view. Our young people work together at whatever jobs they can find; enlist together in the armed forces and serve together in the same battalions. There is, in fact, more integration in Queens County (Howard Beach) than in the board rooms of our major newspapers,

36. The *New York Times* reported by the Associated Press.

or any television network or any Wall Street firm. Those good, comfortable people who react with righteous indignation to the headlines about Howard Beach work in more segregated offices, send their children to more segregated schools, go home to more segregated communities than the residents of Howard Beach. Dr Martin Luther King's dream is closer to reality in Queens than on Wall Street. Meanwhile, for the last six years, President Reagan and his Administration have combined regressive economics with race conscious behavior. Mr Reagan has never met with the Congressional Black Caucus or with the national civil rights leadership. He has suggested that the question is still open whether Dr King was a Communist - 19 years after that great man's death. Representative Charles Rangel, an expert on drug policy, was excluded from a meeting on that subject in the White House because there was "no chair available". The White House is more segregated than Howard Beach.' Jesse Jackson referred to the white farmers in Forsyth County, Georgia 'as feeling like an endangered species'. He added, 'What can they expect from an Administration that has presided over the decimation of family farming?' He further stated that Americans had to move beyond the battleground of race-conscious behavior onto the common ground of economic progress.[37.]

February 2, 1987:

Time publishes a four-page essay; RACISM ON THE RISE. The magazine retold the 'latter-day apartheid' story of Forsyth County, Georgia and asked where 'the amazing persistence of American racism came from, and why it was still so strong?' *Time* said the number, which was not all

37. The *New York Times*, Op-Ed page article (excerpts)
• Perhaps Jesse Jackson could apply the same high standard to South African race problems, instead of advocating disinvestment and economic boycott.

inclusive, of racist attacks all over the US had increased from 99 in 1980 to 276 in 1986, according to the Justice Department community-relations service in Washington DC. Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin, who issued the famous slogan that 'violence is as American as apple pie' when he still was known as H Rap Brown, told *Time* now: 'Racism is the state religion. Racism is to America what Catholicism is to the Vatican. Racism is the religion, and violence is the lithurgy to carry it out.' Thomas Pettigrew, professor of Psychology at the University of California at Santa Cruz told *Time*, 'What causes racism is the most researched question in all of American social science in 80 years.' He believes that one basic answer is that people still fear strangers or anyone who looks different, and many nations and ethnic groups (not excluding blacks) suffer the same disease in one form or other. Perhaps racism should be taught anew to each child, and the best way to teach it is through ignorance. 'In the 1940's Howard Beach occurred every night of the week,' said Professor Pettigrew. There has, of course, been progress.[38] There was a time when Marian Anderson was not allowed to sing at Constitution Hall, or when Jackie Robinson had to promise not to retaliate if spiked and spat upon as the only black in major league football. 'But,' observed *Time*, 'paradoxically, these limited but real successes bring a new twist in racism.' 'We have more hatred now,' says Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP[39], 'because we've entered a new era, an era of competition for jobs, attention, power. Now we are the people who may get your (white) job, who may be living next to you, who may ask your daughter to marry us. We have come a long way, but it is like nibbling at the edges of darkness.'

Time conducted a survey among 871 white and 93 black adults between January 19-21, 1987, and found that half the

38. When attending Yale College (1948-1950) the editor vividly recalls the for-whites-only-signs in Washington DC and further south
39. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

whites who were questioned, feel that blacks are being singled out for discrimination. Only 35 percent of the whites, versus 51 percent of the blacks agree that 'most white Americans do not like blacks'. Yet, 44 percent of whites and 45 percent of blacks agree that 'most black Americans do not like whites'. Also, *Time* found that whites were more likely to be afraid of blacks. Only 30 percent of the black respondents said they would be afraid in an all-white neighborhood at night. Only 24 percent of blacks said they ever felt physically threatened by whites against 26 percent of whites who admitted to ever having felt 'physically threatened by someone who was black'.[40.]

February 3, 1987:

After six years of legal battles and community protests, a Federal Court ordered integration for all schools in Yonkers in the blue-collar Westchester County near New York City. Worst problems were expected at the Lincoln High School in the predominantly white section of the racially divided city. Here opposition against desegregation had been strongest. It was a tense beginning, with a few minor fist-fights and shoving matches erupting inside the school at first. Police officers with riot gear were patrolling outside. But, now, three months later black, white and Hispanic students are finding that their worst fears are not coming true. Lincoln would be the biggest problem school, but everyone was fooled. The student government and sport teams are already integrated while the student body at the same time came down from 88 percent to 56 percent white students. 'The first day of school was the worst day of my life,' said Christina Varon, a black senior who became one of 1 640 students after her own high school was closed. 'Every time I walked into a classroom, it seemed like it was

40. *Time* magazine, pages 16-20

all white. I sat in the corner. It seemed like everybody hated me. I was worried I might get jumped on the way home.' But Christina feels accepted and unafraid now. She ran for vice-president of the student-government and won. 'I feel better about myself now,' she said, 'I overcame my fears of coming here and getting beat up. I have made friends.' All of the junior and senior high schools in Yonkers and all but 5 of the 22 elementary schools are now in compliance with the Court desegregation order.[41.]

February 5, 1987:

City officials estimated that in 1987, 6 000 more foster homes would be needed for growing numbers of foster children, now up to 16 800, many of them born to parents who abuse drugs. William J Grinker, the New York City Commissioner for Human Resources announced, 'As far as I am concerned all foster-parents - regardless of race - should be treated the same way. I don't care whether they are white, green or yellow. And as soon as we have a foster-parent who has been certified as being appropriate, we will make the match with a foster-child as quickly as possible and I don't care what color the child has.' The issue had come to the fore, because of the growing number of infants and children in need of foster-care. It had been the policy of the city and state to give preference to foster-parents of the same racial or ethnic background.[42.]

February 7, 1987:

Governor Mario Cuomo of New York named a 14-member committee which will serve under the chairmanship of the

41. The *New York Times*, from a report by Sara Rimer
42. The *New York Times*, from a report by Joyce Purnick

state's Human Rights Commissioner, Douglas H White, and which will be called Task Force on Bias-Related Violence. A first report of recommendations to the Governor is expected within 90 days.[43.]

February 8, 1987:

Don Wycliff observed in the 'Editorial Notebook' of the *Times*, 'In Chicago, it used to be routine police practice to sweep up large numbers of young black and Hispanic men on disorderly conduct charges, hold them overnight and release them the next day without prosecution.' In 1982, the American Civil Liberties Union challenged the practice in Federal Court. In 1983, when Harold Washington took over as Chicago's first black mayor, the city entered into a consent decree to end the sweeps. His predecessor had defended the policy. Mayor Washington apologized for there ever having been such a practice in Chicago. 'It was then, for the first time, that black political power acquired real significance for me,' wrote Wycliff, 'It meant that the police could actually be forced to exercise some discretion and restraint towards black people.' He continued in the notebook of the *Times* that a dangerous, humiliating, sometimes fatal encounter with police was almost a rite of passage for a black man in the United States. Such encounters are staple in black literature - see James Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time* or Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* or Richard Wright's *Native Son*. Even black men who share no other problem with the black lower class share this one. The most successful, respectable black man can find himself in a onesided confrontation with a cop who thinks his first name is 'Nigger' and his last name is 'Boy'. Wycliff: 'It has happened to me more than once. It has happened to other members of my family. I think in particular of an uncle,

43. The *New York Times* from a report by William G Blair

once kind and gentle, who now resides in a psychiatric ward in Waco, Texas. My parents say that his long descent into insanity began with a brutal beating by two Houston policemen in the 1950s.'[44.]

February 9, 1987:

After years of legal maneuvering and investigation, and fruitless efforts at settlement, the trial of a combined group of civil rights suits by four black journalists against The *Daily News* of New York City is scheduled to begin. It is the first time that editorial employees take action against a major news organisation. Representatives of both sides predict a bitter courtroom battle. The black plaintiffs, who are still employed at the *News* have charged that they were paid less, given worse assignments and were promoted less frequently than white colleagues because of race discrimination. 'The fact that it's going to trial will bring out problems that exist in news-rooms throughout the country, and will be good for the industry,' said Albert E Fitzpatrick, president of the National Association of Black Journalists.[45.]

February 11, 1987:

March 21, 1981, a 19-year-old black, Michael Donald was found hanging from a tree in Mobile, Alabama. Two members of the local United Klans chapter, Klavern 900, were convicted in the case. The slain youth's mother, Beulah Mae Donald and the NAACP started a 10 million dollars civil rights suit against the Klan. The suit contends that Michael Ronald's constitutional rights were violated by Klan intimidation tactics. A witness testified that a Klan leader had called the sight of Michael hanging from a tree

44. The *New York Times*, editorial page (excerpts)
45. The *New York Times*, from a report by Alex S Jones

'a pretty sight'. The United Klans, with an estimated 2 500 members has its headquarters in Northport on Lake Tuscaloosa.[46.]

February 13, 1987:

An all-white jury in Mobile, Alabama returned a 7 million dollars verdict against the United Klans of America, a decision hailed by civil rights leaders around the South. The verdict marked the first time that a Klan group had been held financially liable for acts committed by members, in this case the hanging from a tree by Klan members in 1981 of Michael Donald (19). Klan membership reached a peak in the 1920's with 3 to 5 million. The anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith estimated in 1986 that white supremacists could be summed up as follows: 1) the United Klans of America, headquarters, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, membership 2 500: 2) The Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, headquarters Shelton, Connecticut, membership 2 000: 3) Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, headquarters, Birmingham, Alabama, membership, 500: 4) Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, headquarters, Tuscumbia, Alabama, membership 500 to 1 000: 5) Confederate Knights of the Southern National Front, headquarters, Fayetteville, North Carolina, membership 300: 6) The Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, headquarters, Mount Holly, North Carolina, membership 150.[47.]

February 14, 1987:

New York City's first black Police Commissioner, Benjamin Ward (60) talked with reporters for the first time in eight months. He felt that racially and ethnically motivated

46. The *New York Times*, as reported by the *Associated Press*
47. The *New York Times*, from a report by Robin Toner

attacks against blacks, Jews, Asians and other groups were on the rise, both in New York City and nation-wide. Still, he felt that the black-white issue was played up more by the press than it should be. Why incidents of racial bias were on the rise in America at this time the police commissioner didn't know. He expressed frustration over criticism by some in the black community, since these verbal attacks have made it very difficult for the department to recruit black applicants.[48.]

The *Times* reports that there are 10 000 homeless people in Washington, DC 'perhaps more'. 'Here in the capital of the nation, as in every American city, men and women without homes live in streets and parks, out of garbage cans, on heat grates and off change from people who pass them. But here, unlike anywhere else, they survive in the shadows of the monument and great buildings that are symbols of the richest country on earth...', the paper reported. Also, the *Associated Press* announced that President Ronald Reagan had signed emergency legislation providing 50 million dollars to help the homeless.[49.]

A report published by the Klanwatch Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Alabama found that in 1985 and 1986 there were hundreds of acts of vandalism, intimidation and other incidents directed at members of minority groups who had moved into predominantly white areas. The phenomenon had worsened as middle-class blacks and other minority group members sought housing in previously all-white neighborhoods. Scores of cases of arson and cross-burnings have been reported over the past two years. Among the incidents chronicled was the fire-bombing of the home of 66-year-old black Mrs Mabel Gant. She had lived for two years in the mostly white neighborhood and was killed in the fire. The day after the attack, another black family, that had moved into a nearby area received a newspaper clipping of the fire-bombing inscribed

48. The *New York Times*, from a report by Todd S Purdum
49. The cost of about a fighter plane for the Air Force

with the message, ‘You are next’. Although most racially motivated attacks are perpetuated by whites against minority group members, in some cases the reverse is true, the report found. In Philadelphia, for example, black residents of Powelton Village, a predominantly black community on the city's western section, harassed and intimidated Asians who were moving into the area.[50.]

February 17, 1987:

Civil rights activists are questioning whether methods that defeated institutional racism in the 1950s and 1960s can prevail against the more subtle racism of the 1980s. Activating familiar responses civil rights leaders immediately organized protest marches against racial outbursts at Howard Beach or Forsyth County. But veterans of previous civil rights battles are now debating the value of such marches in countering the type of grass-roots racism underlying recent violence.

‘The chief barriers to racial justice today,’ says black psychologist Dr Kenneth B Clark, ‘are more subtle and much less conducive to media coverage. Such problems as inferior Northern schools that resist attempts at desegregation, deteriorating urban ghettos, persistent unemployment and a myriad of handicaps of single-parent black families do not elicit the same moral indignation on the part of the American public as did earlier forms of injustice.’ In the 1960's, the demands were clear: the immediate passage of a comprehensive civil rights bill guaranteeing equal protection under the law and black access to housing and public accommodations, to integrated schools and the workplace. The target was Congress, the courts and the White House. For many civil rights leaders the issue now is not whether blacks can win new legislation but how to muster enough political strength to force strong enforcement of existing

50. The *New York Times*, from a report by Lena Williams

civil rights laws and prevent the erosion of gains made in the 1960's. 'Racial justice in this country has only come as a result of sacrifice, loss of life, sweat and tears, said the Reverend Benjamin L Chavis jr, Executive Director of the United Church of Christ's Commission on Racial Justice. "Black youths seem to be saying if there has got to be some suffering and dying, they are not going to be the only ones who are going to suffer and to die."[51.]

February 20, 1987:

Racism Ku Klux Klan style is easy to spot when it is dressed in a white robe and pointy hat. But the racism that keeps one suburb lily-white, while a neighboring suburb quietly grows more and more black, is a trickier, more elusive racism. In most ways, Franklin Square and Elmont are identical middle-class Long Island towns. But Franklin Square is less than 0.1 percent black, while its neighbor Elmont is 17 percent black. Elmont schools have changed in ten years from 88 percent white to 68 percent. White flight spread in Elmont. In 1985 New York's Secretary of State, Gail Shaffer, prohibited Elmont real-estate brokers from soliciting business. The non-solicitation order - aimed at stopping them from stirring white flight - was the first issued in New York's suburbs. Nowadays, discrimination by real-estate brokers is very subtle. Black house-hunters are not told to go away. They are made to feel unwelcome instead. Therefore New York State arranged hearings on Franklin Square Reality business. The state charged, for instance, that white house-testers, carrying an ad for a 178 000 dollars home, were shown the house around, while black testers of the same economic means were not. At one point, the state attorney asked: 'During the time that you were at Franklin Square Reality, were you offered any refreshments?'

51. The *New York Times*, from a report by Lena Williams

'Yes, twice,' said a white tester. Question: 'What were you offered?' Answer: 'Coffee'. The black tester couple who arrived the same day, said they were waited on by a woman named 'Yo', who wouldn't give her full name. Yo told them they probably would not like the house anyway, since it was in poor condition, and later she picked up a phone, and they heard Yo say 'Oh, the house is old?' The black couple asked for suggestions for another house, but Yo said she had nothing. Needless to say, the black testers were not offered a refreshment.[52.]

A revolt broke out in a predominantly black neighborhood of Tampa, Florida. The melee was touched off by the death of a black man subdued by a white police officer using a choke hold. Stores were looted, car and trash fires were set and stones were hurled at police. Four men were arrested for looting. 'It is a war zone down there,' said Bob Gilder, former president of the Tampa chapter of the NAACP. It was reported that the dead man, black Melvine Eugene (23) had threatened four people with a knife and had attacked a police officer. Officer David D 'Agresta (25) was placed on administrative leave with pay pending an investigation. The choke-hold is designed to cut off the blood supply to the brain by applying pressure to the carotid artery in the neck, which causes unconsciousness.[53.]

February 24, 1987:

Last summer, Mrs Amzie Denson (42) tried to find a bigger and better house for herself, three of her children and two grandchildren. She found and rented a house in a predominantly white neighborhood of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The landlord cancelled the lease, however, when residents massed at the house in protest. During a second attempt, she could not ignore the sign that had been painted on the

52. The *New York Times*, from a report by Michael Winerip
53. The *New York Times*, as reported by the Associated Press

front of the brick house; ‘We don't want no niggers KKK’. The police tried to find witnesses, but no one in the street had seen anything. A single witness, a 13-year-old white youth, John de Marco, had observed neighbor Richard Keller spray-paint the words on July 22, 1986. John spoke up and testified spurred on by his mother to tell the truth. ‘I felt that blacks have the same right as whites,’ recalled John, ‘plus I have a lot of black friends, and I think there is really nothing wrong with black people at all.’ Judge Lydia Krikland of the Philadelphia Municipal Court, who is black, sentenced Richard Keller to one year in jail and a fine of 2 500 dollars.[54.]

Robert D Riley (17), who was charged by the police as a participant in the Howard Beach racial murder, has nevertheless come forward and supplied the police with valuable information that helped identify and secure indictments against 11 other white suspects. Day and night two city police officers stand guard outside his house at the edge of Jamaica Bay. He has stopped attending John Adams High School and is now being tutored at home. He has also stopped working after school as a delivery boy at a local pharmacy. He spends most of his time indoors. ‘He did the wrong thing,’ said Gary Wagner (15), a sophomore at John Adams. ‘You shouldn't rat on your friends, and he better move to Florida.’ ‘Bobby Riley has no more friends. He is a stool pigeon and put my name under that,’ said Jody Aramo (16) a junior. Even among black students at John Adams, loyalty appears to be more important a concept than helping the legal system. ‘He should not have told on all of his friends,’ said Arthur Dennis, a black sophomore who lives in Richmond Hill.[55.]

54. The *New York Times*, from a report by William K Stevens
55. The *New York Times*, from a report by Sam Howe Verhovek

February 25, 1987:

A sharply divided Supreme Court, rejecting the Reagan Administration position, ruled that judges may order employers to use strict racial quotas temporarily in promotions as well as hiring to counter severe past discrimination against blacks. By 5 to 4, the Court upheld a Federal District judge's orders in 1983 and 1984 requiring Alabama to promote one black state trooper for each white trooper, assuming qualified blacks were available, until the state could develop a promotion procedure acceptable to the judge. The decision reinforced and partly expanded three major rulings last year in which the Court rejected the Administration's broad attack on all use of racial preferences to remedy past job discrimination and approved use of temporary, limited hiring preferences. In its affirmative action decision, the Court made clear for the first time that courts, at least in extreme cases, may order racial preferences in promotions as well as in hiring and may use highly specific numerical 'catch-up' quotas to bring an employer's work force quickly into line with the percentage of qualified members of minority groups in the available labor pool. The [Court's] majority also said a court order requiring that black employees be promoted ahead of whites with higher test scores, like a hiring preference, did not have so severe an impact on the whites as would a requirement that whites be laid off before less senior blacks.[56.]

February 26, 1987:

The New York City Board of Education had released the figure that 30.7 percent of high school students were dropouts. Now, the Educational Priorities Panel has come up with a new and more alarming figure, saying that 54 percent

56. The *New York Times*, from a report by Stuart Taylor Jr (frontpage headline)

of students drop out along the way from the 9th to the 12th grade. The Panel said it was not accusing the Educational Board of falsifying its figures, but asserted that the Board had calculated the figures in a way that cast the best light on the school system. 'The way you judge a school system is by whether students graduate,' said Stanley Litow, director of the Panel. 'The problem with putting the best foot forward is that people will assume you are doing splendidly and just need to do more of it. In fact, what we need to do is change what we are doing.'[57.]

Within one month after the Reverend Jesse Jackson complained in an Op-Ed article in the *Times*[58.] that President Reagan never bothered to meet with the national black civil rights leadership, Ronald Reagan received for 30 minutes Rev Jackson, as well as Mayor Marrison Barry Jr of Washington DC who is black, and Samuel Meyers, Executive Director of the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, who is also black. Mr Meyers represented the 113 historically black colleges and universities. Actually, the meeting was requested by Mr Jackson and marked the first time in seven years Mr Reagan met prominent blacks who do not support Administration policies toward minorities and the poor.

March 1, 1987:

'Prisons are probably the most serious problem we have, outside the budget,' said State Senator J E Brown from Texas. I compare it with a dam used to control flooding. The downstream folks are protected, but then, through development, more water is coming in upstream and overflowing the dam and flooding the people downstream.' 'One thousand new inmates a week jam too few cells,'

57. The *New York Times*, from a report by Jane Perlez
58. The *New York Times*, February 18, 1987

read the full-page headline in the Review of the Week Section of the *New York Times*. The desperate overcrowding in Texas's prisons, outstripping the 30 percent increase in their capacity since 1981, has sobering parallels across the nation. American States are in a frenzy of prison construction, at a record cost of 4 billion dollars, but the population of State and Federal prisons has more than doubled in the last decade, to more than 530 000. Another alarming indicator of prison conditions is the rates of homicide and suicide, that remain double those outside prisons. Officials note, too, that prisons have dealt with overcrowding in part by freeing offenders early. Nineteen States reported early releases of 18 617 inmates in 1985. At the end of that year, 11 297 serious offenders were lodged in local jails for lack of room in the prisons of 18 States. Local jails are now considered even more overcrowded and volatile than prisons. Allen F Breed, Board chairman of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency told the *Times*, 'You have to remember that 90 percent of the inmates will eventually come back into society. Prisons are becoming criminogenic - you put people in them and they become more criminal. And that will spell problems for society. That degree of hostility and venomous hate will be back on the street.'[59.]

The African Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal Church, the oldest black church in Brooklyn, New York, celebrated its 221st anniversary. A ceremony weaved essays, sermons and hymns on the theme of the experiences of its founders - free blacks, escaped slaves, Indians and whites. Current pastor is the Reverend Fred A Lucas Jr (37), the church's 59th leader and a graduate of Harvard College and Harvard Divinity School. He described the 3 800 member church 'as a black United Nations', because its parish in Bedford-Stuyvesant is made up of blacks from 19 countries in the Caribbean, Africa and Latin America.

The church's history echoes the fortunes of New York's

59. The *New York Times*, from a full-page report by Peter Applebome

blacks since the pre-independence period. The number of blacks in the church increased rapidly beginning in 1810 and relations between blacks and whites grew tense. Black parishioners broke away from the now-extinct parent congregation, when in 1817 a head tax was imposed on them and blacks were told they could sit only in the church balcony, could no longer be ordained and could not come to the altar. Disaffected black workshippers then organized services at each other's homes until 1819 when the congregation, newly named the African Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal Church moved into its own place of worship on High Street in Brooklyn.[60.]

March 3, 1987:

The other day, a 27-year-old man who the police said, attacked an officer with a lead pipe, was killed in a barrage of police gunfire on a Harlem street. The eight police officers involved refused to answer questions unless they were guaranteed immunity from prosecution. Their refusal came despite a preliminary finding that the shooting of the victim was within departmental guidelines. Three weeks ago, when a burglary suspect who had been hog-tied died in police custody in Queens after a violent struggle with the officers who arrested him, they also initially refused to answer any questions about the incident, on the advice of lawyers for the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association. ‘Years ago, if you knew you were right, you didn't care,’ a longtime sergeant said. ‘You told what happened. Now most everyone's not talking right away. It is just a matter of course.’ Police officers involved in fatal shootings or other confrontations with suspects are increasingly reluctant to answer questions immediately, even when they believe their conduct is fully justified. Several accusations of police

60. The *New York Times*, from a report by Howard W French

brutality have made even officers not accused of wrongdoing by the department more wary of speaking freely.[61.]

March 6, 1987:

A 52-page report, based on interviews with students, the campus police, and college officials stated that the brawl on the Amherst campus of the University of Massachusetts following the last World Series game was 'predictable, preventable and primarily racially motivated'. The fighting broke out when the students poured out of dormitories after the New York Mets defeated the Boston Red Sox 8 to 5 in the seventh game of the World Series. The melee left 10 people injured, including a black student who was beaten unconscious. According to the author of the report, Frederick A Hurst, a member of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, the Mets were perceived as a black team and the Red Sox as a white one. The violence began with non-racial scuffles among a crowd of students, many of them drunk. 'No one present that night can explain why or how, but the focus of the crowd perceptibly shifted toward the black students long before any black student used a weapon,' stated the report. 'It seemed as if the crowd was unconsciously focusing on a surrogate target against which to take revenge for the Sox loss, and that surrogate target conveniently became black students.' The incident came in a long-standing atmosphere of racial unease and 'ongoing, low-intensity racial affronts,' Mr Hurst said. Members of minority groups make up only 8 percent of the 25 000 student enrollment at Amherst. Blacks make up only 3.1 percent of the minority student group. An estimated 1 200 to 3 000 students engaged in the brawl.[62.]

61. The *New York Times*, from a report by Todd S Purdum
62. The *New York Times*, from a report by Matthew L Wald

March 7, 1987:

A new report, *Poverty Amidst Prosperity: Is New York Dividing Into Two Cities?* cites a high incidence of murder, war-time casualties, imprisonment, unemployment and homelessness as the principal cause of the shortage of men in poor black neighborhoods of New York City. The shortage has further contributed to the increase in the number of households led by single black women. Those households, statistics show, are more likely to live below the poverty level than are two-parent households. Published by the Citizen Committee for New York, the report says the city's poorest black neighborhoods contain 14 percent fewer men than women between 20 and 44 years old.

Psychologist professor David Chavis, of New York University and one of the authors of the report, said the shortage of black men reflects the status of blacks in American society. Black men, he said, were 'six times more likely to be incarcerated and three times more likely to be diagnosed as mentally ill' than white men. He also said that because of their high unemployment rate, many black men become debilitated, homeless and cut off from their community. Census data, Professor Chavis said, indicated that 'black men in New York are more difficult to count than illegal aliens'. Joseph Salvo, a demographer with the Department of City Planning said, 'In a dangerous neighborhood, or in a building where they sell "crack", the census-taker will stand outside, count the number of apartments and guess how many occupants there are, rather than risk life and limb for an hourly wage.'[63.]

63. The *New York Times*, from a report by Howard W French

March 8, 1987:

The Justice Department announced today that 83 percent of 12-year-old children in the United States will be the victims or intended victims of violent crimes at least once in their lifetimes. Herbert Koppel, an analyst at the Bureau of Justice Statistics, said the study was undertaken because annual figures 'can provide a false sense of security'. The study reached the following conclusions based on current crime rates:

- One out of every 133 Americans will become a murder victim. Among black men, the estimate is dramatically higher: 1 out of 30.
- One out of every 12 women will be the victim of a rape or an attempted rape. The rate for black women is 1 out of 9.
- Nearly everyone will be the victim of a personal theft at least once, and 87 percent will be personal theft victim 3 or more times.
- Blacks have a 53 percent chance of becoming the victims of a completed rape, robbery or assault, while the figure for whites is 41 percent.
- For robbery blacks face a 51 percent victimization rate, while the rate for whites is 27 percent.
- Almost 3 out of 4 households will be burglarized at least once in 20 years and theft without forcible entry will occur in 9 to 10 homes. Urban households face a 27 percent chance of auto theft in a 20-year period.[64.]

March 9, 1987:

While no one keeps statistics on worsening racial tensions around the country, officials at colleges and universities and experts in race relations say they seem part of a growing

64. Data from a special report in the *New York Times*

pattern of bigotry and animosity toward minority students at American campuses. In a recent survey of black students at 16 predominantly white colleges, 4 out of 5 blacks reported experiencing some form of racial discrimination. The experiences range from unkind words to assaults. Minority students and faculty members across the country say the incidents are evidence of longstanding racial unease. In part, they blame cultural insensitivity for the conflicts, along with resentment over affirmative action programs and a decline in black student enrollment over the past decade that sets black students apart at predominantly white schools.

Some students say that because of their small numbers, many black students unintentionally widen the gulf between racial groups when they socialize with other blacks and observe voluntary color lines in cafeterias and fraternities. Others point to a highly competitive atmosphere that pits students against each other.

'It is an aura,' said Jason Dotson, a black senior economics major at Ann Arbor. 'You can feel the intensity in the classroom. You see it in the teachers' eyes. You see it in the students' faces. You are always under scrutiny. These are people who basically hold your future in their hands, but they don't want you here. It is hard enough to make it in this school, without that added pressure.' At Michigan, black students are not the only ones singled out for attacks. Two years ago, swastikas were scrawled on the house of a predominantly Jewish sorority and the library stall of a Chinese-American graduate student was defaced with death threats and racial slurs.[65.]

March 12, 1987:

By the year 2000, experts estimate that there will be 25 to 30 million Hispanics in the United States, or about 11 per-

65. The *New York Times*, from a report by Isabel Wilkerson

cent of the population. They are expected to overtake blacks to become the nation's largest minority group sometime early in the next century. In some cities, such as Houston, Texas and Los Angeles, California, Hispanic students already make up more than half the students entering public school in the first grade. In San Antonio, Texas, the nation's 10th largest city, 79 percent of the students in the San Antonio Independent School District are Hispanic.

While people of Hispanic descent are America's fastest-growing ethnic group, poverty, language problems, cultural differences and a shortage of Hispanic teachers are among the most pressing problems facing the nation's schools. A New York State study last November put the drop-out rate of Hispanic students past the ninth grade at 62 percent, against 53 for blacks and 20 percent for non-Hispanic whites. A Texas study in October put the State's drop-out rate at 45 percent for Hispanics, 34 percent for blacks and 27 percent for whites. 'My basic belief is that the drop-out problem is like cancer,' said James R Vasquez, superintendent of the Edgewood Independent School District in San Antonio. 'There isn't one cause and there isn't one cure.' According to Census Bureau figures, 13.5 percent of Hispanic people over 25 years of age have completed less than five years in school compared with 6.1 percent of blacks and 2.2 percent of whites.[66.]

March 15, 1987:

Most children and young adults can read at a level appropriate for their age but only a small percentage can reason effectively about what they are reading and writing. This was the conclusion of a new report, 'Learning to be Literate in America' as published by the National Assessment of Educational Progress set up by the Federal Government

66. The *New York Times*, from a report by Peter Applebome

to monitor the academic performance of the nation's schoolchildren. The burden of this wide-spread lack of effective reasoning skills will be borne mainly by American businesses. David T Kearns, chairman of the Xerox Corporation said in an introduction to the report, 'If current demographic and economic trends continue, American businesses will have to hire a million new workers a year who can't read, write or count. Teaching them how, and absorbing the lost productivity while they are learning, will cost industry 25 billion dollars a year for as long as it takes - and nobody seems to know how long that will be,' Mr Kearns added.[67.]

New York City foster-care children are being bounced from home to home and institution to institution in far greater numbers and under more chaotic conditions, than officials, case-workers and other experts can recall. The children are buffeted by countless rejections and severe stress. They often become angry, depressed and violent. Few of them understand that they are the littlest victims of a system that, by all accounts, has been overwhelmed. 'It's gotten to the point where we are sending kids home to bad circumstances because foster-care is such a terrible alternative,' said Judge Daniel D Leddy Jr of Family Court in Manhattan. 'It's not safe and it's exploding at the seams.'

Abandoned babies live in hospital cribs, and learn to walk while holding the hand of a nurse! A pregnant 13-year-old has been sleeping for weeks on a couch in a recreation room at a group home where 25 children live in a space meant for 18. Troubled teenagers languish for months in chaotic observation centers where, according to workers and legal advocates, physical abuse of children by other children has become a daily occurrence.[68.]

67. The *New York Times*, from a report by Deirdre Carmody
68. The *New York Times*, from a report by Michael Oreskes, Suzanne Daley and Sara Rimer

March 16, 1987:

A large number of American Indians still live under depressed conditions, and unemployment on some reservations runs as high as 60 percent. In recent years, though, several tribes have won multimillion-dollar settlements of long-standing claims against the United States and the State Governments for illegally seizing their lands. Most tribes shared the settlements among their members, but a few frugal, forward-looking chiefs sought more profitable ways to spend their people's windfalls.[69.]

March 19, 1987:

On the evening of May 13, 1978, four men entered the Dixie Furniture Store in Atlanta, Georgia, secured the showroom by forcing everyone to lie face down on the floor and as they searched for cash, one of them shot and killed a police officer. Three of the men were sentenced to varying prison terms for the crime, while another, Warren McClesky, was convicted of murder and sentenced to death. Like most of those now on Georgia's death row, Mr McClesky is black, and his victim was white. His case is extraordinary only in that his appeal is the first to be heard by the United States Supreme Court based on the contention that Georgia's death-sentencing process is unconstitutionally infected by racial discrimination. Mr McClesky's sentence, handed down by a jury of 11 whites and one black, is viewed by opponents of the death penalty as perhaps the last broad-based challenge to the way the death penalty is imposed in most states and the last opportunity to save many of the 1.874 convicts now on death row. ‘Race is the pre-eminent factor in deciding who lives and who dies in capital punishment cases, particularly here in the death belt (Southern) States,’ said Steven B Bright, an attorney with the South-

69. The US version of South African homelands

ern Prisoners Defense Committee, which represents indigent capital defendants. 'When you kill the organist at the Methodist Church who is white, you are going to get the death penalty. But if you kill the black Baptist organist, the likelihood is that it will be pleabargained down to a life sentence,' Mr Bright added.

Since the Supreme Court first upheld some revised death penalty laws in 1976 after striking down all existing death penalty laws four years earlier, there have been 70 executions; 1 in 1977, 2 in 1979, 1 in 1981, 2 in 1982, 5 in 1983, 21 in 1984, 18 in 1986 and 2 so far this year. Forty two of those executed, or 60 percent were black; 26 were white and 2 were Hispanic. David Baldus, a law professor at the University of Iowa, studied the 2 484 homicides that occurred in Georgia from 1973 to 1979. In those cases 1 665 defendants were black and 819 were white. Blacks were the victims of homicides in about 61 percent of the cases, whites in 39 percent. The Baldus study did not find that black defendants overall were more likely to get the death sentence than white defendants. But Professor Baldus did find that of the 2 484 murders in Georgia, blacks who had killed whites were sentenced to death at three times the rate of whites who killed blacks.[70.]

March 21, 1987:

Black Police Commissioner, Benjamin Ward said that slow progress in recruiting and promoting blacks would leave few ready for promotion to top jobs when senior black officers left the department. Mr Ward mentioned his own departure as a case in point, suggesting that he might leave before his term expired in January 1991. He also cited a growing number of Hispanic officers and said that blacks had to be more aggressive in lobbying for hiring and promo-

70. The *New York Times*, from a report by Kenneth B Noble

tion of black officers. He said three of the seven borough commanders are black, but that few blacks were coming up through the ranks. Of the 27 161 officers in uniform as of last September, 78.6 percent were classified as white, 10.8 percent as black, 10 percent as Hispanic and 0.6 percent as Asian and Pacific islanders.[71.]

March 24, 1987:

In Dearborn Park, near Chicago, a bitter class conflict has broken out over whose children should be allowed to attend a new school in a brand new housing project. The immediate surroundings represent a prospering, racially integrated neighborhood. But the school, under construction, is also a short walk from a dilapidated and sometimes dangerous housing project for the poor, called Hilliard Homes. Parents there contend that their children have as much right to attend the new school as the middle-class children. The Board of Education, which has yet to draw the boundaries, faces a philosophical problem that seems to pit the issue of fairness to the poorer children against the practical need to retain middle-class families in the city and to keep their children in public schools. And as more young, urban professionals become parents of children of school age, the problem is likely to be repeated in Chicago and other urban centers around the nation, education experts said. The Hilliard Homes parents contend that children from both housing areas should be allowed to attend the new school. They charge that any gerrymandering of school boundaries to segregate according to class would be as discriminatory as racial segregation.[72.]

71. The *New York Times*, from a report by David Johnston
72. The *New York Times*, from a report by Dirk Johnson

March 29, 1987:

Despite some significant progress in race relations, most New Yorkers say important divisions between blacks and whites are now as wide or wider than they were a decade ago. Blacks and whites alike speak of a troubling paradox. They do see some improvements in race relations, such as growing economic and educational opportunities for some blacks and increasing integration in some work places. But at the same time they find that any real movement toward achieving equality has stalled and that in some critical ways the overall racial climate has worsened. 'The kinds of things that were being dealt with covertly are being dealt with overtly, and, unfortunately, with violence,' said Charlotte M McPherson, a black professor at the College of Staten Island. 'And I don't see anyone coming up with a rational solution. They are fixing a very deep surgical problem with Band-Aids.'

Tom McNiff, a white student at St John's University in Queens, and editor of the College newspaper put the problem as follows. 'There is definitely a larger problem. It's a quiet problem, a quiet kind of racism. It's not like you see marches or Ku Klux Klan cross-burnings. It's more racial yokes and slurs between members of the same race. The battle hasn't been fought and won.'

From a *New York Times* poll on race relations it became clear that blacks and whites who concur on the general condition of race relations disagree on the cause. Blacks say discrimination has not only continued but also in some ways has become more overt in the recent past. Many whites, including some who marched in the civil rights movement in the 1960's, say violent crime by blacks has made them more fearful and less politically sympathetic. Much of the hostility may have existed all along, both average New Yorkers and race relations experts say, but they find people are now more inclined to act on it. 'What we are seeing,' said David J Garrow, a civil rights scholar and political scientist at

the City University of New York,' is the reappearance of latent racism.'

In a city like New York, famous for its multitude of distinct ethnic enclaves, some of them inviolable for generations, the public school system traditionally provided a place where children could meet and at times surmount neighborhood barriers. But in the last generation, the system has become more segregated, falling from 59.5 percent white in 1962 to 22 percent today. 'The city as a whole is half-white,' wrote reporter Samuel Freedman in the today's *Times*. Dr Gerald Deas (55), a black doctor in Hollis, Queens said, 'I feel sorry for the white kids and the black kids today. The racial enclaves are set in place because people can't afford to move. The whites are pulling out of the schools. Now you don't get the interchange, and that's how racial trouble gets started.'[73.]

March 30, 1987:

New Rochelle, a city on Long Island Sound has 70 000 residents. Eighteen percent are black. The Mayor, however, is white, as are all the City Council members. Two blacks sit in the nine-member Board of Education. Black families, members of a growing black upper-middle-class here, have moved into the city's wealthy - and predominantly white - northern neighborhoods. The majority of blacks, however, still live in the more urban center city - loosely included in the part of town known as the South Side. Here are the housing projects with a working class population of Italian, Irish and Polish heritage. At the High School students say that not only race, but also geography, economic class and family background determine their friendships and varying academic successes. Students generally adhere to the city's

73. The *New York Times*, from a report by Samuel G Freedman

north-south division in their daily activities. Many students from the North End drive to school, some in Trans Am's and BMWs, while those from the South Side are more likely to walk or take the bus. Also, most of the racially mixed friendships - ones that go beyond the school walls - are among blacks and whites from the North End. Students say upper-middle-class blacks from the North End rarely form close friendships with lower-middle-class blacks from the South Side. 'Blacks in the North End are foreign to us,' said Craig Merritt. 'They live in a white area.'

The New Rochelle High School is not a perfect world of racial harmony. At most tables in the cafeteria, blacks sit with blacks, whites with whites. 'New Rochelle is not utopia,' said Dr James Gaddy, who last year became New Rochelle's first black school superintendent. 'New Rochelle High is a desegregated school, but I am not sure if it fulfills the ideal of an integrated school. I am not sure the ideal of an integrated school exists in our country today.'[74] John F Kennedy High School consists of a modern red-brick building in the Kingsbridge section of the Bronx, New York. The school is remarkably representative of the racial and ethnic composition of the city's public school system. The school record lists nearly half of those enrolled as Hispanic, 30 percent as black, 20 percent as white and 3 percent as Asian. The senior portraits in the Year Book suggest a success story of racial and ethnic unity: hundreds of young adults, black and white, Hispanic and Asian - smiling and confident, side by side. But wander down the halls, or drop into a classroom or two where there are after-school activities or take in a basketball game, and you find a student body fragmented, as if by some historical centrifuge.

Hispanic students seem to congregate in the 4th-floor cafeteria, although relatively recent immigrants from the Dominican Republic gravitate to the 5th floor. Blacks gather near a 4th-floor exit. Whites cluster on the ground floor. And outside the classroom, it is hard to find the Asians, the

74. The *New York Times*, from a report by Sara Rimer

school's smallest ethnic group. The athletic teams are by and large black and Hispanic. The academic clubs, white and Asian. The Kennedy students talk about this sense of territoriality in a way that on the surface seems loose, natural, without apparent bitterness. But, some say too, that on a deeper level the easy talk stems from a desire to lessen tensions in their lives. Tamy (17), who chose not to give her name, echoed the sentiments of many students. 'I get along with everyone. Mostly white people stay with white people. Blacks stay with blacks. Dominicans stay with Dominicans. Troy Abel (15) of black and Chinese parents, said, 'there are more black guys with no white friends here than white guys with no black friends.' He said some blacks and whites were friendly with each other but most black teenagers avoided whites because of the ostracism they feared such relationships would cause. He cited comments from black peers such as, 'You hang around with too many white people. You are turning white.'

Dominic Smith (16), an articulate black 10th grader, described a first and last visit to the house of a close friend and class-mate in Riverdale. 'It felt funny, like I was walking into a place I did not belong. My friend's parents looked at me like I wasn't even human.' Dominic excused himself and abruptly left. He concluded that close associations with white guys were not worth the embarrassment of possible rejection.[75.]

March 31, 1987:

In Chicago, Washington, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Atlanta and elsewhere, blacks have been elected mayors, but in New York, no black has been elected to a city-wide office. Blacks hold presently 6 of 35 City Council seats; 13 of the City's 60 State Assembly seats; 4 of the City's 25 State Senate seats, and 4 of the 14 Congressional seats. Despite

75. The *New York Times*, from a report by Howard W French

these victories, blacks in New York still lack the power to make executive decisions that would come from a city-wide office. Politicians, black and white, see this failure as a reflection of a larger stagnation in efforts to improve relations between blacks and whites in New York. There seems to be a kind of political loop at work, according to a number of black leaders. Increasing racial tension may make it more difficult for whites and blacks to form coalitions. And the failure to form coalitions has the effect of lessening black political power, which then leads to increased racial tensions.

Because of this tension, black politicians face a challenge of political balancing that is much more difficult than what faces most white politicians. 'If you work to unify the black votes you are a racist,' said Assemblyman Herman D Farrell, the Manhattan Democratic county leader,' and if you don't do that then you are in trouble because you don't have a political base.' This is further complicated by what some black elected officials describe as 'a growing militancy among young blacks, including black professionals', who feel black officials are too accommodating toward incumbent officials. The most visible example is the rising visibility of two lawyers, Alton H Maddox Jr and C Vernon Mason, who have aggressively challenged the political and judicial system in the Howard Beach, Queens, racial attack prosecution and other cases.[76.]

Students at the nation's 57 historically black private colleges are bearing the brunt of Federal grant cutback. These black students are falling deeply into debt to finance their educations. These financial obstacles may be responsible for a 4 percent drop in black college enrollment from 1980 to 1984, while high school graduation rates among blacks went up. These data were supplied by a newly released report, 'Access to College: The Impact of Federal Financial Aid Policies at Private Historically Black Colleges', published by

76. The *New York Times*, from a report by Michael Oreskes

the United Negro College Fund and the National Institute of Independent Colleges and Universities. The study was based on 2 380 student aid records at 38 colleges and universities.

'These students, absolutely the truly neediest, are being badly hurt by a Federal policy that asks many to take out college loans bigger than their families' incomes,' said the Institute president, Richard Rosser. Students at these black colleges were more dependent on Federal Aid than other students because they were poorer, tended to come from states offering little or no financial aid, and attended institutions whose low tuition and limited endowment made them less able to provide financial help. More than 80 percent of full-time undergraduates, or almost 50 000 students, depended on student aid to help meet college costs in 1983-84.

At historically black colleges there are studying 62 000 students. The median family income of these students was 10.733 dollars, or one-third of the median income for all other families with a child in college. Forty-two percent of the students at historically black colleges come from families with an income below the poverty line. Thirty percent of these students come from families with an income below 6 000 dollars annually. To give an example, in 1982 an income of 9 862 dollars annually was the poverty line. Bruce Carnes, a Deputy Under-Secretary at the Education Department in Washington called the report on black colleges false, pathetic and malicious. He accused the writers of the report known 'for a single-minded devotion to their parochial interests'.[77.]

April 1, 1987:

Are housing patterns a critical factor in race relations? A poll and a series of interviews conducted by *New York*

77. The *New York Times*, from a report by the Associated Press

Times indicated that a majority of people interviewed or polled said relations between blacks and whites in New York had not improved during the past decade or that they had grown worse. 'People tend to stay in their own neighborhoods when they come home from work,' said the Reverend Anthony Failla of St. Finbars Roman Catholic Church in the predominantly white section of Bensonhurst in Brooklyn. 'If all they know of blacks is what they see on television and what is highlighted in the news stories, then relations between the races are bound to worsen. Once I mingle with you, I know you, but if I don't know you, I don't know you.'

Underneath a pattern of changing and shifting ethnic neighborhoods the overall level of racial separation in the 1980's appears to be little changed from what it was at the start of the 1970's. The resegregation, however, is occurring despite open housing laws, the movement of blacks to the suburbs and the emergence of a growing black middle-class. It is regarded by many experts as a development that punctures the dreams of a racially-mixed society envisioned in the civil rights movement two decades ago. The city has, of course, always been a conglomerate of ethnic enclaves as new immigrants arrive, settle in and embark on the generational process of assimilation. What seems to set the blacks apart, the experts say, is that when they move out of one area and into a new one there is a tendency for the new area to resegregate.

'We are seeing wholesale resegregation of communities in five to eight years,' said Joan M Thompson, director of fair housing for the New York City Commission on Human Rights. Specialists in demographics and housing cite both economic and social reasons to explain continued segregation and resegregation. Many blacks cannot afford to move into white areas, and a variety of discriminatory practices, more subtle than those of an earlier past, persist.[78.]

78. The *New York Times*, from a report by Ronald Smothers

Hispanic workers are capturing an increasing share of the nation's new jobs, Government figures show. They generate a debate over whether a breakthrough has been achieved or simply whether many new jobs are so marginal that few other workers want them. Of all the jobs created in the United States last year, Hispanic workers took nearly a quarter, or 23 percent, a far higher proportion than their 7 percent representation in the population. In four years, since 1983, the number of Hispanic people employed in the nation has grown by 1.8 million, to 7.6 million. Government labor analysts say most of these jobs have been in the service industries, which in recent years have been the fastest growing sector of the economy. But service jobs, which include such positions as retail clerk, data processor and hospital aide, also tend to pay lower wages - frequently at or near the minimum wage of 3.35 dollars an hour - than industrial jobs.

Raul Yzaguirre, president of the National Council of LA RAZA, a Hispanic civil rights group in Washington, warned of the creation of 'a permanent Hispanic underclass', stuck in working poverty because of low wages and deprived upward mobility.[79.]

April 10, 1987:

There are 280 000 residents in Tampa, Florida, and 25 percent of them are black. Tampa has a 721-member police force, which lately has become the centre of serious racial tension in the city. Pulled over for a moving traffic violation, Dwight Gooden, the New York Mets' star pitcher and four of his hometown friends, all black, got in a brawl with white police officers last December. Mr Gooden (22) contended he was beaten by the officers but he later pleaded no contest in third-degree felony charges of battery on a police officer. He was sentenced in January to 3 years' probation

79. The *New York Times*, from a report by Judith Cummings

and community service, a sentence amended this week to allow for spot drugs tests on the athlete after word that he was undergoing treatment for cocaine use. In the weeks before this incident, two armed blacks who reportedly wounded other blacks were shot by the police. One died. Just a few days after the Gooden incident a black man who reportedly shot at black drug dealers in his neighborhood with a rifle was wounded by police. On February 13, an unarmed black drifter with a history of mental problems died when officers attempted to subdue him. Witnesses said an officer used a 'choke-hold' on the man, but police officials described it as a 'carotid hold', a grip that can cut off the flow of blood to the brain but does not collapse the windpipe of the suspect. The death set off two nights of racial unrest in the Collge Hill area, with black youths hurling stones and fire-bombs at passing white motorists and the police.

In March a black robbery suspect was shot in the back and killed by a pursuing policeman. Last week, in another incident that provoked an outbreak of stone-throwing on the streets, a black drifter died in a scuffle with the police. The cause of his death is still under investigation but an autopsy report ruled out police-inflicted trauma or suffocation. Black leaders said the deaths of four black men at the hands of the police in less than four months was unacceptable. 'We have too many incidents for them to be accidents,' complained Robert Gilder, former president of the Tampa branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Robert L Smith, Tampa's public safety director said, 'The facts are that in three of the four deaths of black men, the police were responding to calls for help from the black community, and in two cases death was accidental.'[80.]

Crown Heights, just east of the Brooklyn Botanic Garden, is a neighborhood of broad, tree-lined streets, neat three-story houses and small-scale apartment buildings. It is also

80. The *New York Times*, from a report by Jon Nordheimer

a community divided by race, religion and culture. Blacks and Hasidim Jews feel threatened by one another, and racial tensions have festered in the area for some time. The ill ease between the two groups has several reasons. Blacks and Hasidim compete for housing. Although established black residents said they had been harassed to move, Hasidim argued that there was no such effort. The Hasidim control a private security force that some blacks perceive as antagonistic to them. But the religious group argue that they are targets of crime and that the patrol is necessary. The Reverend Heron Sam, rector of St Marks Episcopal Church, the largest black church in Crown Heights, said however Hasidic leaders had asked whether he was willing to sell his church. 'What gall,' he said. Father Sam is also distressed about the all-white volunteer security force run by the Crown Heights Jewish Community Council. He calls it 'a vigilante squad' that must be disbanded if the two communities are to coexist at all. 'What is called crime in any other neighborhood is called racial tension here,' Rabbi Yisroel Rosenfeld, director of the Jewish Community Council said. 'You know, if someone is mugged, you know the person is black. There is no secret about that. When you talk about crime in this neighborhood it is a oneway street.'

On February 26, at about 1:30 a.m. someone placed a cardboard orange-juice box and a can containing petroleum in the basement of Willie Mae Reddish house and set them afire. Mrs Reddish, a black woman, fled the fire with her mother and three sons. As the family ran, Mrs Reddish said, she hear someone chanting, 'Burn, burn, burn.' A witness saw two men, one dressed in a long black coat and fedora, by which Hasidic Jews can be recognized, and the other in a blue coat, run from behind the Reddish house to the basement area of a dormitory for Hasidic Jews at a nearby yeshiva, according to police reports.[81.]

81. The *New York Times*, from a report by Lydia Chavez

April 13, 1987:

'Nobody fears urban crime more than the urban poor,' reported John D Hull in *Time Magazine*. He said that residents in Watts and other rough neighborhoods of South Central Los Angeles were being terrorized daily by gangs and gunfire. Hull likened the area to 'a war zone where murder is the leading cause of death among young men'.

Time pointed to the most unusual phenomenon taking place in the troubled area. Residents voted twice since 1981 for higher taxes to be able to pay for more police officers. Each time the city-wide referendum was defeated by voters in more affluent and better policed areas of Los Angeles. Now the ghetto may go it alone. Local activists proposed a 21 million property tax levied against South Central residents to pay for an additional 300 police officers.[82.]

April 15, 1987:

Ambassador Perkins's prayer (editorial in the *New York Times*)

It's finally possible - how long has it been? - for Americans to take pride in some Reagan Administration conduct in South Africa. Washington has rightly and promptly condemned the Pretoria Government's sweeping new rules barring protests against mass detentions without trial. Better still, Edward Perkins, America's new Ambassador and a black, made a point of participating in an ecumenical service in Cape Town that offered defiant prayers for the detained.

These are only symbolic gestures, but they are not empty. Witness the angry reaction from South Africa's Foreign Minister, who demanded that Western envoys attend a

82. *Time* magazine, April 13, 1987, page 33

briefing on black violence. Even symbols can spotlight an outrageous wrong; an estimated 30 000 people, including perhaps 10 000 children, are being detained without trial in South Africa's bursting jails.[83.]

A study, prepared by the United Church of Christ's Commission on Racial Justice, asserted that the placement of hazardous waste facilities in communities with large concentrations of black and Hispanic people, hardly was a coincidence or happened by chance. The report discovered that more than 15 million of the nation's 26 million blacks lived in communities with one or more uncontrolled toxic dumps. More than 8 million of the nation's 15 million Hispanic residents live in communities with one or more uncontrolled hazardous sites. Three of the 5 largest toxic waste landfills in the United States are situated in predominantly black and Hispanic communities. The largest commercial hazardous waste landfill in the nation is in Emelle, Alabama, where blacks make up 78.9 percent of the population. In Scotlandville, Louisiana, the site of the fourth largest landfill, blacks make up 93 percent of the population. Similarly, in Kettleman City, California, the site of the fifth largest landfill, 78.4 percent of the residents are Hispanic people. The Reverend Benjamin F Chavis Jr, Executive Director of the commission told the *Times*, that he was particularly concerned about the health risk posed by these facilities, especially in the light of recent studies that have shown a high incidence of cancer, heart disease and birth defects among minorities.[84.]

83. The *New York Times*, first two alineas of an editorial on April 15, 1987
84. The *New York Times*, from a report by Lena Williams

April 22, 1987:

Court, 5-4, Rejects racial challenge to death penalty. (headline front-page *Times*)

The Supreme Court, dashing the hopes of opponents of the death penalty, ruled 5 to 4 today that a state's capital punishment system was constitutional despite the fact that killers of white people are far more frequently sentenced to die than killers of blacks. The Court upheld Georgia's death penalty system against a challenge by a black man convicted of killing a white policeman in a 1978 robbery. The condemned man cited - and the Supreme Court majority assumed as valid - a study showing sharp racial disparities in the sentencing of killers in Georgia and showing in particular that capital punishment was far more likely in cases involving black killers of white victims. While 60 of Georgia homicide victims are black, out of seven people put to death in Georgia's electric chair since the 1976 decision by the Supreme Court upheld the state's death penalty law, six were black. The current black accused, Warren McClesky, shot a white policeman during a furniture store robbery. He was sentenced to death by a jury of eleven whites and one black.

Professor David C Baldus of the University of Iowa supplied a study showing that 11 percent of all those charged with killing white victims in Georgia and 22 percent of the blacks accused of killing whites were sentenced to death, as against 1 percent of those charged with killing blacks.[85.]

Nation-wide, according to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund Incorporated, 1487 inmates were on death row as of March 1. Of those 777 or 41.5 percent are black and 944 or 50.4 percent are white. Whites were the victims in about 75 percent of those cases, blacks in 13 per-

85. The *New York Times*, from a front-page report by Stuart Taylor Jr.

cent. The rest were of other races, or their race is not known. New York State does not have a death penalty. Neighboring Connecticut does, but has not sentenced anyone under it. In New Jersey, which has the death penalty, there are 25 inmates on death row, 14 of whom are black, 11 white. The State of New Jersey kills by lethal injection.[86.]

April 23, 1987:

A serious incident at Columbia College in New York City heightened concerns about race relations among students. On the night of March 21, 1987 a brawl broke out outside Ferris Booth Hall, the student activity center. A white student, who had assertively made racial comments to a black student, was confronted by the black, who spilled beer on him. A fight followed, involving 10-15 people. More racial slurs and scuffling followed on the steps of the center. The white student had responded by touching the black student's head, saying, 'Nice hair buddy' or words to that effect. He was with 4 or 5 other white students and was then confronted by 5 to 7 blacks. At this point two white students came out of Ferris Booth Hall, and one was hit by an unidentified black man. The white student's hat was taken and as he raced to Broadway, he was jumped by several black men. After that, more scuffles broke out on the steps and the surrounding area. Several black and white men were knocked to the ground and a great deal of yelling by observers took place. Racial obscenities were shouted. Columbia College conducted an investigation and now issued a report. Dean Robert E Pollack said that one white student was found guilty, but disciplinary records were being kept secret, because of a strong belief in the right of students to confidentiality.[87.]

86. The *New York Times*, from a report by Lena Williams
87. The *New York Times*, from a report by Deirdre Carmody

April 24, 1987:

The *New York Times* publishes another editorial attack on the prevailing color bar in the United States:

Discrimination in death? Yes, 5-4.

How does the Supreme Court respond to evidence that American justice values the life of a white murder victim more highly than a black victim? It doesn't make any difference.

The Court admitted as much in a decision that assumes the accuracy of data showing that Georgia hands down the death sentence at least four times as often when the victim is white. Challenged to decide whether any defendant, black or white, should be executed under such a system, a 5 to 4 majority delivered a shocking response: So discriminatory a result is not necessarily racist, and therefore it is perfectly constitutional ... According to the Supreme Court, they must prove that race is the reason that the prosecution asked for death or that the jury decreed it or that the judiciary upheld it. When Georgia's legal system was all-white by law, that might have been easy to prove. But to require such a proof now is to require the impossible. Capital punishment procedures in Georgia, and many states, have long been tainted by racism... Using Georgia's own criminal files, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund found first that the capital sentencing rate for white victim cases was 11 times that for black victims. Even allowing for 230 other variances, the death sentence was four times more likely to be imposed when the victim was white.

Justice William Brennan, in a dissent to the Court's decision wrote with eloquence and relevance of America's efforts to purge a racist past:

'We cannot pretend that in three decades we have completely escaped the grip of a historical legacy spanning centuries. Warren McClesky's evidence confronts us with the subtle and persistent influence of the past. His message is a disturbing one to a society that has formally repudiated

racism... Nonetheless, we ignore him at our peril, for we remain imprisoned by the past as long as we deny its influence in the present.' Death is different, concluded the *Times*, 'and given the chances of grisly error, wrong. But even people who favor capital punishment should cringe as long as death means discrimination.'[88.]

April 28, 1987:

According to city officials, there are more guns than people in the City of Detroit, Michigan. Therefore, crime influences almost every decision. It determines when people leave home, what routes they drive, where they walk. Crime is a conversational ice-breaker in Detroit, like the weather or the Tigers. Shootings are so commonplace that they are the subject of local songs and school essay contests. On average, a child was shot every day in 1986. But if residents were becoming anesthetized to such violence, a killing at a High School in the middle of Holy week has once again awakened them. Just before spring break on April 16, a 14-year-old student firing a. 357 magnum pistol chased a black, star football player through the halls of the building past the gymnasium and the physics laboratory, as others looked on, helpless and in horror. The football player, Chester Jackson Jr (17) was killed by a bullet in the head. Two other students were wounded.

Why this seemingly motiveless shooting has infuriated Detroiters who live with a nation-leading homicide rate of 58 for every 100.000 residents, triple that of New York, is not entirely clear. But parents are now demanding metal detectors and searches for weapons in the schools. Detroit stands apart in the frequency of shootings involving youths - over-

88. The *New York Times*, April 24, 1987

whelmingly, poor inner-city black males - in apparently unprovoked attacks.[89.]

A group of poor blacks, together with the City of Dallas, Texas and the Reagan Administration have agreed, even with the approval of the Federal district judge, that 2.600 public housing units in the most infamous slum should be destroyed and that many of the tenants should be dispersed throughout the Dallas Metropolitan area. The plan for units in West Dallas may be the most ambitious attempt in any major American city to break up a large concentration of poor blacks and move them to integrated or predominantly white neighborhoods where there are jobs, better education and other public services. The idea, which began when residents demanded repairs, is expected to end with the demolition of a complex containing one-third of the city's public housing. It comes at a time of growing concern that the nation may be developing a permanent class of dependent poor people, largely members of racial minorities concentrated in central cities and plagued by unemployment, crime, drugs, and teen-age pregnancy.[90.]

April 29, 1987:

Governor Mario Cuomo of New York called on business leaders to undertake a campaign of training and guiding minority-group youths. Saying that racial tensions in New York had worsened and hinting at possible violence this summer, he hoped the business-leaders would comply out of 'love'. But at the very least, he said, they should comply out of self-interest. 'You want to talk about racism in terms that are going to get to your pocket-book?' the Governor asked his audience at the New York Hilton Hotel. 'The majority of the work-force in this country in the 21st cen-

89. The *New York Times*, from a report Isbel Wilkerson
90. The *New York Times*.

tury is going to be minority. Now, one out of two of them is being raised in poverty. What kind of work-force are you going to have? Who are going to be your sophisticated people who will outthink the Japanese and the West Germans? How are you going to make it without them? You can't move away from them,' Mr Cuomo said, referring to blacks and other minority groups.[91.]

April 30, 1987:

Ford Heights, Illinois, 25 miles south of Chicago is the most desperately poor suburb in America. The per capita income is 4 523 dollars a year. Kenilworth, a suburb at the other end of town has a per capita income of 48 950 dollars a year. Kenilworth is the richest suburb in America. Among the 5 300 residents of Ford Heights the jobless rate is presently 55 percent. Ford Heights is predominantly black, as are the five poorest suburbs in the nation. Of the ten most empoverished suburbs in America the other five are predominantly inhabited by Hispanics, like outside Los Angeles. Robbins, a predominantly black suburb south of Chicago, went broke in January and laid off its entire work-force. Workers began to return in recent weeks as the town's coffers were replenished. Until then, the services were provided by volunteers receiving unemployment compensation and vouchers for free meals at local restaurants.[92.]

F Glenn Miller Jr, former leader of the White Patriot Party of white supremacists who reportedly threatened a war against Blacks, Jews and the Federal Government was captured in Ozark, Montana by FBI agents who fired tear-gas into a mobile home. Miller (46) was convicted last year in North Carolina for operating a paramilitary training camp. He was apprehended with three other men.[93.]

91. The *New York Times*, from a report by Jeffrey Schmalz
92. The *New York Times*, from a report by Dirk Johnson
93. The *New York Times*, from a report by Associated Press

May 6, 1987:

May 13, 1985, the Philadelphia Police Department simply bombed from a police helicopter a row of 61 houses along Osage Avenue and Pine Street in a confrontation with a radical organisation called ‘Move’. The area was completely destroyed and looked like the result of a World War II bombing. Mayor W Wilson Goode vowed to the 236 residents who lost their homes to rebuild the blocks, a process that began a day after the disaster. In addition to the replacement houses, each family got 18 000 to 20 000 dollars in charitable contributions. Nearly half the households also reached out-of-court settlements with the City averaging a payment of just under 50 000 dollars.[94.]

May 7, 1987:

The National Black Police Association said after an 18-month study, that black and Hispanic candidates for jobs as officers had been discriminated against in psychological tests and character investigations given by the police department in New York. The group called on the department to reconsider the applications of minority group candidates rejected since 1979, the year in which testing was started for all uniformed police forces. The department's Chief of Personnel, Anthony M Voelker rejected the criticism. He said, ‘Blacks pass the psychological test at about 90 percent the white rate. Ethnicity does not enter into the process.[95.]

94. The *New York Times*, from a report by Patricia Leigh Brown
95. The *New York Times*, from a report by Howard W French

May 11, 1987:

Obviously, President Ronald Reagan has taken the criticism of the Reverend Jesse Jackson, that he paid little or no attention to American blacks during his seven year presidency seriously. He addressed a graduation class at Tuskegee University, one of the nation's oldest black educational institutions and stated, that if black Americans intended progressing socially and economically, they had to become part of the scientific and technical revolution. Mr Reagan further said, 'great strides' had been made over the last two decades in removing legal discrimination and that scientific skills were now essential to blacks becoming 'independent and upwardly mobile'. The theme of technology ran through the President's day at Tuskegee, Alabama. 'In his 25-minute speech, one of Mr Reagan's rare appearances before a predominantly black group', reported Gerald Boyd in the *Times*, 'he focused nearly entirely on black concerns, but did not respond directly to persistent criticism of his policies by black and civil rights groups.' 'Certainly, problems in the black community cannot be covered or ignored,' said Mr Reagan, 'yet rather than dwelling almost exclusively on the negative, let's make certain our children see stories of black successes and triumphs.'

In January the National Urban League, in its annual report 'State of Black America' asserted that blacks were victims of Reagan Administration politics that were 'morally unjust' and 'economically unfair'. In his speech, the President did acknowledge that black unemployment was 'far too high' and 'totally unacceptable'. He said, 'Black employment has increased 1.8 million since 1980 and today, more black Americans are working than ever before and a higher percentage of the black workforce is employed than at any time this decade.' The *Times* added that while the jobless rate for blacks fell slightly in April, to 13 percent, it was still more than double the rate for whites, which was 5.4 percent. Also, the American Council on Education recently

said that members of minority groups now make up 21 percent of the American population, but only constitute 17 percent of college enrollment. Even enrollment at Tuskegee University steadily declined and now stands at 3 300. Between 1976 and 1984 the percentage of blacks enrolled in American colleges and universities came down from 9,4 percent to 8,8 percent, instead of going up, as was to be expected.[96.]

May 12, 1987:

'In seeking to understand the tenacity of prejudice,' wrote Daniel Goleman in the *Times*, 'researchers are turning away from an earlier focus on such extreme racism as that exhibited by members of the Ku Klux Klan to examine the pernicious stereotypes among people who do not consider themselves prejudiced.'

A troubling aspect of the problem, researchers find, is that many stereotypes seem to be helpful in organizing perceptions of the world. Recent studies on this cognitive aspect, amplifying on earlier work, are proving useful in explaining the tenacity of prejudice as a distortion of that process. One finding is that people tend to seek and remember situations that reinforce stereotypes, while avoiding those that do not. Another troubling conclusion of the research is that simply putting people of different races together, does not necessarily eliminate prejudice. For example, Walter Stephan, a psychologist at the University of Delaware, found in a review of 18 studies of the effects of school desegregation that interracial hostilities increased more often than they decreased at desegregated schools.

Psychologist Goleman continued, 'Overt, admitted bigotry is on the decline, studies indicate. Yet they reveal that a more subtle form of prejudice, in which people disavow

96. The *New York Times*, frontpage report by Gerald M Boyd

racist attitudes but nevertheless act with prejudice in some situations, is not declining.' Such people justify prejudiced actions or attitudes with what they believe are rational, non-racist explanations. To those, who have felt the sting of racial discrimination, the phenomenon is well known. Part of the difficulty in eradicating prejudice, even in those who intellectually see it is wrong, stems from its deep emotional roots. 'The emotions of prejudice are formed in early childhood, while the beliefs that are used to justify it came later,' said Thomas Pettigrew, a psychologist at the University of Santa Cruz, California, a noted scholar in the field. 'Later in life you may want to change your prejudice, but it is far easier to change your intellectual beliefs than your deep feelings.' Dr Pettigrew continued, 'Many Southerners have confessed to me, for instance, that even though in their minds they no longer feel prejudice against blacks, they still feel squeamish when they shake hands with a black. These feelings are left over from what they learned in their families as children.'

Psychoanalytic theories, too, point to the importance of childhood experience. 'We distinguish between the familiar and the strange early in infancy,' said Mortimer Ostow, a psychoanalyst and professor of pastoral psychiatry at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. 'Then in childhood, when we join groups, we learn to draw boundaries between us and them. By adolescence the group identity becomes even more important, and outgroups become the place to deposit your own faults.'

The classic psychoanalytic literature on prejudice notes that a person's own sense of insecurity is often reflected in the need to find an outgroup to despise, with the person's most loathed personality characteristic pushed onto someone else - thus, the 'filthy' Jews or blacks, or Italians or whites.' Dr Ostow and other psychoanalysts have studied people in treatment who explored their own anti-Semitic prejudices. 'The inner dynamics are surprising,' said Dr Ostow. 'We find that there almost always was a time in the past when the prejudiced person was attracted to the other

group. The prejudice is a later repudiation of that earlier attraction.' Dr Ostow feels that the child becomes fascinated by strangers, particularly by people in a group other than that of his own family. The child then pulls back from the fascination, often after a rebuff or disappointment, or when he feels guilty at betraying his family. When the attraction happens later in life, the turning-point is often rejection by a lover. 'The prejudice that forms symbolizes a loyalty to home and its values,' Dr Ostow said, 'but it is built on a deep ambivalence.'[97.]

The mind looks for ways to simplify the chaos around it. Lumping people into categories is one way. 'We all need to categorize in order to make our way through the world,' said Myron Rothbart, a psychologist at the University of Oregon. 'And that is where the problem begins: We see the category and not the person.'

The tenacity of people's stereotypes, both innocent and destructive, is a result of the pervasive role of categorization in mental life. And the stereotypes tend to be self-confirming. 'It is hard to change people's preconceptions once they are established,' said Dr Stephan, who is working on the new research. 'Even if you present people with evidence that disconfirms their stereotypes - an emotionally open and warm Englishman, say, who breaks your image of the cold, reserved English - they will find ways to deny the evidence. They can say, "He's unusual," or "It's just that he has been drinking." '

In a study of recently desegrated schools, Janet Schofield, a psychologist at the University of Pittsburgh, found that many black students thought the whites considered themselves superior. When white students offered help to black students, the blacks often spurned the offers, seeing them as a confirmation of the attitudes they attributed to the whites. And research by David Hamilton, a psychologist at

97. It is impossible and would be improper to duplicate the entire article by Dr Goleman

the University of California at Santa Barbara, shows that people tend to seek and remember information that confirms their stereotypes. So, a black who sees whites as haughty and unfriendly may notice these whites more and remember them better than the whites who were warm and friendly. And if, for example, white people avoid black people, there is little opportunity for receiving information that might contradict their stereotypes. Even people who profess not to be prejudiced often exhibit subtle forms of bias, according to research by psychologist Samuel Gaertner of the University of Delaware and John Dovidio of Colgate University. Many national surveys have shown, for example, that the racial attitudes of whites have become markedly more tolerant over the last 40 years. But other research suggests that 'although the old-fashioned "redneck" form of bigotry is less prevalent, prejudice continues to exist in more subtle, more indirect and less overtly negative forms,' Dr Gaertner and Dr Dovidio assert in 'Prejudice, Discrimination and Racism,' published recently by Academic Press. 'People who believe they are unprejudiced will act with bias in some situations, but give some other, rational reason to justify the prejudiced act,' Dr Gaertner said in an interview.[98.]

May 16, 1987:

In February a Federal District judge ruled that the Wisconsin Indian Chippewa tribe has virtually unrestricted hunting and fishing rights extending far beyond the Lac du Flambeau Indian Reservation near Minocqua. The ruling pitted American Indians against white sportsmen. Tensions have marred the everyday relations between Indians and whites in the schools, stores and restaurants they share in Minocqua, a resort town of 3 300 people, ever since. 'They are just jealous,' said the Lac du Flambeau tribal Chief, Mike

98. The *New York Times*, Science Section, by Dr Daniel Goleman

Allen Sr. ‘They are mad because we can hunt and fish before their season opens.’ The northern Wisconsin region, with dense forests, contains white-tailed deer, black bear, mink and beaver and is endowed with hundreds of clear lakes with walleye and muskie, and has long been popular with tourists.

The dispute dates to a treaty signed in 1837 when the Chippewa sold roughly one-third of what would become the State of Wisconsin for about a nickel an acre. The Treaty contained a provision ensuring unrestricted hunting and fishing for the Chippewa Indians on their former land, public and private. In his ruling in February, Judge James Doyle, sitting in Madison, upheld the accord. ‘Basically, the ruling gives the Indians the same hunting and fishing rights they enjoyed before the white man,’ said John D Niemisto, an assistant State Attorney-General. The Chippewa leaders say the conditions of high unemployment and poverty among Indians make hunting and fishing a necessity for survival. Moreover, the Indians say that tourism on the reservation - at the bingo hall, in crafts shops and restaurants - has slumped because of a perception of Indian hostility against whites.[99.]

Just after midnight, June 13, 1985, Edmund Perry (17) a black youth from 265 West 114th Street in Harlem, died in a nearby hospital. He had been shot by a white plainclothesman, Lee Van Houten, who claimed self-defense. Two black men had assaulted and beaten him in a robbery attempt. He had fired at one of them. Meanwhile, the other had escaped. It was another brutal encounter between blacks and the police, and one that might have well gone unnoticed by the world at large were it not for Perry's educational background. He had graduated with honors 11 days earlier from Phillips Exeter Academy in New Hampshire, one of the nation's leading private schools. He had already received a full scholarship to the College of his choice, Stanford University. Soon enough newspapers across the

99. The *New York Times*, from a report by Dirk Johnson

nation, radio announcers and television reporters were telling Americans Perry's story - his brief successful life and this quick, violent death.

Robert Sam Anson, a free-lance magazine writer and the author of a biography on George McGovern, had a son that also attended Exeter and who knew the Harlem youth. Mr Anson's son spoke for many when he doubted the policeman's assertion that he had reacted to an attempted mugging and severe beating and that he had feared for his life. Anson's son said, 'Could not be true. Eddie was too smart for that. The cop must just have killed him.' Random House now publishes Robert Sam Anson's findings on the case in a new book, 'The Education and Killing of Edmund Perry' (221 pages)[100.]

May 19, 1987:

Under terms of a Federal court verdict Mrs Beulah Mae Donald of Mobile, Alabama was handed the property deed to a 7 200-squarefoot, brick and corrugated metal building and 6.5 acres of wooded land near Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Until a few weeks ago the building served as national headquarters of the United Klans of America. The building was turned over to Mrs Donald by the Klan as part of the judgement in a 7 million dollars civil lawsuit brought against the Klan for the killing of her son Michael (19). The United Klans, founded in 1961, was considered one of the nation's largest Klan groups with an estimated 30 000 membership. Currently the membership is probably fewer than 1 500. Mrs Donald, who is 67 years old, said she intended to turn the building over to a real estate agent for immediate sale. The current market value and the surrounding property was valued at 225 000 dollars.

The observance of the bicentennial of the Constitution is being invigorated by an unexpected debate over what

100. The *New York Times*, Literary Review, by Robert Coles

meaning black Americans should draw from a document that allowed the continuation of slavery. A few weeks ago Justice Marshall denounced 'the perpetuation of slavery' in the Constitution and asserted that the bicentennial observation 'invites a complacent belief' in the perfection of the Framer's work. Justice Thurgood Marshall, the only black to have served on the Supreme Court, reacted to an interview by the retired Chief Justice, Warren E Burger in the *New York Times* for having said among others, that the American Constitution was 'the best thing of its kind that was ever put together', even if it was somewhat flawed by the compromise that permitted slavery to continue.[101.]

May 23, 1987:

David Horton (81) a crime watch volunteer at the 13-story Park Manor Apartments in Dallas, Texas, was shot by police officers responding to a call, and died near the dumpster in his own parking lot. Lillie Battle (60), his neighbor told the *Times* Mr Horton wouldn't hurt a fly. He just had the gun to scare intruders. He wasn't going to shoot anyone, but he shouldn't have had to be out there in the first place.' 'People won't go outside anymore,' said Excell Jones (66). 'They'll rob you, they will snatch your purse, they'll snatch the hair off your head.'

The incident began that fateful night when Mr Horton looked from his 10th-floor apartment window and saw someone he believed was trying to steal a car. Mr Horton's own pick-up truck had been broken into as many as six times, and was stolen and found stripped two weeks earlier. Mr Horton armed with a rifle, and two other residents went down to investigate. Soon afterward two police officers, one white, John Nichols, and one black, Donald Moten, arrived in a police car with its squad lights and siren not

101. The *New York Times*, from a report by Irvin Molotsky

operating. They sighted Mr Horton across the lot. The officers identified themselves, the police said, and shouted for him to put down his rifle. The police said Mr Horton fired two shots in their direction. A bullet from the white officer then killed Mr Horton. Last year Dallas police officers killed or wounded 29 civilians in shooting incidents. It was one of the highest per capita rates in big cities nationally. The House Subcommittee on Criminal Justice arranged hearings on the shootings in Dallas, as well as on shootings in New York, Miami and Los Angeles.[102.]

In the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn, the Jewish Community Council has decided to end years of disagreement over an all-white neighborhood security patrol run by a Hasidic sect. Members of the black and Jewish communities have agreed to start a new integrated patrol.[103.]

May 31, 1987:

The dominant use of white models in real estate advertisements is increasingly coming under attack by open housing groups and public-interest lawyers in New York and elsewhere State human-rights officials are investigating the practice which has been common for decades as a possible form of racial discrimination in housing. Fair housing advocates assert the advertisements violate the Federal Fair Housing Act of 1968. This law prohibits discrimination in the sale or rental of housing and bans the production or publication of an advertisement that indicates any preference based on race. The overwhelming use of white models in newspaper advertisements is supposed to have the same effect as putting up a 'whites only' sign. In this way, newspapers are aiding and abetting discrimination if they knowingly publish these adds. In one instance a real estate developer violated the law with its brochure showing 70

102. The *New York Times*, from a report by Peter Applebome
103. The *New York Times*, from a report by Todd S Purdum

photographs of about 200 people, only 5 of whom were black. The rest were white. The *Washington Post*, for instance, voluntarily agreed already to require that 25 percent of models in real estate advertisements be black.[104.]

As the nation celebrates the creation of its Constitution, many American blacks are uneasily questioning the extent to which they should honor the Founding Fathers, a number of whom were slave owners. 'Under the original American Constitution, blacks were not people,' said Judge A Leon Higginbotham of the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit in New York. If one had to identify a single theme in the discussions leading to the Constitution, he added, 'it was that slaves should be viewed as property, as subhumans.' Judge Higginbotham further suggested that 'the framers of the Constitution were less than straightforward in never using the word slavery.' Not until 1865, when the 13th Amendment freeing the slaves took effect, did the word find its way into the Constitution. He called the original document an exercise in nondisclosure.' 'There is a national amnesia about the reality of race,' added Nathaniel R Jones, a Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit. 'Now there are storm clouds gathering on the horizon.'[105.]

June 5, 1987:

Ranks of white-robed Ku Klux Klan marchers plan to parade through the streets of Greensboro, North-Carolina on Sunday, their first public demonstration there since a bloody shootout between armed Klansmen and leftists in 1979 that left 5 people dead. What is happening in Greensboro the coming weekend is not only a story about a Klan march and the dark recollections it evokes. It is also the

104. The *New York Times*, from a report by Carl H Lavin
105. The *New York Times*, from a report by Douglas Martin

story of how blacks and whites in a Southern industrial town have worked together to come to terms with the Klan's existence and with their own racially troubled past. 'These Klan people are not an innocuous bunch of misfits - they come to divide and polarize this community with their message of racial hatred,' said John Shaw, chairman of the city's Human Relations Commission. Greensboro has 187 000 residents of which about one-third are black. Fliers that bear the message 'This is not Klan country' have been circulated widely. Radio spots have been urging people to take part in planned weekend events to promote racial harmony.[106.]

Hundreds of homeless people abandoned their makeshift shelters as a line of about 40 police officers swept through Skid Row in Los Angeles, California, tossing people's belongings into the street and threatening to arrest those who refused to move. 'Nobody was arrested for sleeping or blocking the sidewalk,' said Lieutenant Dan Schatz, but the police made four arrests for public intoxication. On Towne Avenue, little was left of shelters after the police action. Street sweepers completed the job. Those living on Skid Row sidewalks had been warned all week. Most of the homeless people apparently did move on to settle down for the night in doorsteps and alleys elsewhere in the city. In a 50-block area near downtown Los Angeles an estimated 1 000 homeless were living in the streets.[107.]

June 7, 1987:

When Bernhard H Goetz (37) found himself confronted by four black teenagers on an IRT subway train three days before Christmas in 1984, he drew a gun and shot all four of them. The blacks, Barry Allen, Darryl Cabey, Troy Canty and James Ramseur - all had been arrested or convicted at

106. The *New York Times*, from a report by William E Schmidt
107. The *New York Times*, from a report by the Associated Press

least once and all were facing criminal charges when the shooting occurred. Two were carrying screwdrivers, widely - and erroneously - reported as ‘sharpened’. In a testimony ultimately thrown out by the judge in Mr Goetz's trial, Mr Ramseur, who is now imprisoned on a rape conviction, said he and his friends had been on their way to Times Square to steal money from video game machines when they were shot by Mr Goetz. What remained unclear throughout was whether they planned to rob Mr Goetz.

Thin, bespectacled Mr Goetz seemed at first an improbable aggressor. Indeed, a grand jury initially declined to indict him for attempted murder. But in his video-taped confession to the police in Concord, New Hampshire, where he surrendered, he appeared to be consumed with resentment at having been victimized and determined never to let it happen again. Denied a pistol permit after he was mugged and beaten in 1981, he bought and carried a gun anyway. So, when he was confronted by four blacks and felt threatened, he acted. Rudolf W. Giuliani, the United States Attorney in Manhattan considered and rejected filing Federal charges against Mr Goetz because he felt, Goetz ‘acted out of fear - justified or not - that he would be harmed’. Mr Giuliani concluded that there was no ‘racial motivation’ for the shooting. But if Mr Goetz was not motivated by racial animosity, was he motivated by racial fear?’ asked Don Wycliff in the *Times*. ‘Was his fear inspired, at least in part, by the fact that the four young men who confronted him were black? And if so, were his fear-inspired actions unreasonable, given the facts of urban life?’ Wycliff further asked.[108.]

June 8, 1987

‘Imagine the Mayor of New York calling an urgent news conference to announce that the crisis of the city's poor

108. The *New York Times*, from a report by Don Wycliff

children had reached such proportions that he was mobilizing the city's talents for a massive rescue effort not unlike the one that saved us from bankruptcy 10 years ago,' wrote Andrew Stein, president of the City Council of New York in the *Times*. 'Almost 40 percent of our children - 700 000 boys and girls - now live in families with incomes below the poverty line. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan has estimated that half of the babies born in the city in 1980 can be expected to be on our welfare rolls before they reach the age of eighteen', Mr Stein continued.

Today's children of poverty are suffering in ways that would have dumbfounded those who knew the Great Depression: an estimated 3 000 babies born addicted to drugs every year, 10 000 children living in shelters and hotels for the homeless, 12 000 children who were abused or neglected so severely last year that they had to be removed from their homes and placed in foster-care. All too many poor children in New York are denied dignity even in death, according to a report by the Coalition for the Homeless. The report revealed that almost half of the infants under age of one who died in the city between 1981 and 1984 were buried in potter's field in unmarked graves that their families thus could not visit.

To understand what is happening we must return to poverty and its related disorders - family disintegration and teenage pregnancy. The likelihood of a child's growing up poor is four times as great if he is born into a household headed by a woman rather than a traditional two-parent home. And it is even more likely when the mother is a teenager. New York City has been massively afflicted by this 'feminization of poverty.' Though the city's population declined 11 percent between 1970 and 1980, the number of people living in female-headed families rose by almost 30 percent. The city's welfare rolls now consist mainly of minority-group women and children. Demographic projections suggest that this most vulnerable group will continue to grow as a percentage of the population at least through the next decade... The 13 000 babies born to teenagers in 1984 represent a

staggering social economic cost. Seventy percent of those babies and their mothers can be expected to end up needing public assistance within 18 months. Earlier this year, the Washington based Center for Population Options released a study estimating that the cost of teenage pregnancy was 16.5 billion in 1985 alone...

In 1964 President Lyndon B Johnson declared America's first war on poverty with a battery of laws to improve education and to attack hunger and disease, from urban ghettos to the remote, gritty valleys of Appalachia. 'If Johnson could witness what is happening in his native Texas today, however, he would surely shudder,' wrote Frank Gibney Jr in *Newsweek* magazine.

In 'The Valley', as the heart of the squalor in the lower Rio Grande valley is known, up to 250.000 American citizens live in more than 400 rural slums. Unemployment in these colonies runs as high as 50 percent, water supplies are fouled and chronic diseases are rampant. Schools in the main three counties are hopelessly overcrowded. 'In short,' reported the magazine, 'the conditions in the colonies are the worst America has to offer. And the population is increasing so rapidly that studies predict it will double by the year 2000.' Doctors in the Valley work overtime controlling basic illnesses seen only in developing countries. Their patients' lack of education and the high cost of medicine make health care a Sisyphean task. Diabetes, for instance, which can be easily controlled, frequently causes blindness and loss of limbs in the Valley.[109.]

June 9, 1987:

Four black journalists said in Federal District Court in Manhattan that they had felt rage and humiliation as a result of racial discrimination by their employer, the mass-circulation *Daily News*. The testimony, by turns bitter and

109. *Newsweek* magazine, from a report by Frank Gibney Jr

poignant, opened the second phase of a race discrimination trial that will conclude with a jury award of damages to the four journalists. The same jury found on April 15, that the *Daily News* had racially discriminated against the four plaintiffs in 12 incidents between 1979 and 1982. The discrimination found by the jury generally involved jobs that the plaintiffs were denied and retaliation when they complained. The parties seemed near agreement on a package that would give the plaintiffs about 3 million dollars. About half of this amount would go to lawyers, fees and the rest was to be divided among the four black journalists.[110.]

June 10, 1987:

Chief of Police, Reuben M Greenberg (43) of Charleston, South Carolina is black and practices the Orthodox Jewish faith of his grandfather, while his hard-nosed approach to law enforcement makes him stand out in his field. According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation the felony rate in Charleston has declined steadily in the five years in which the energetic and articulate Chief has headed his force. His philosophy is uncomplicated: 'Once we get a crime report, we are already too late because then we have a victim. Eliminate victims and you eliminate arrests. That is simple. People will tell you, cops have no effect on the homicide rate,' Chief Greenberg said. He continued, 'Cops can have a tremendous effect on domestic homicide. Obviously, we can't be on the spot before every convenience store murder, but we have a chance to make a difference whenever we get a call about a family argument. We arrest the guy every time there's any evidence of violence. That way we don't wait until you have a victim, and we make one trip instead of ten. It's effective and it's constitutional. Seventy-six percent of those arrested in 1985 were unemployed. Now that tells me two things: the ones we appre-

110. The *New York Times*, from a report by Alex S Jones

hended are probably like the ones we didn't catch, and coming up with more jobs is not, contrary to popular belief, a major way of eliminating armed robbery. Most of those guys were just trying to supplement their income.'

Next, Chief Greenberg set up an elite Flying Squad and Tactical Squad of which the members are under 30 years old and in excellent physical condition. 'They are the least likely to shoot,' said the Chief. 'They walk the streets in the city's high crime district, stopping to talk to known offenders and to investigate anything suspicious.' The Squads also set up situations to catch, on film, offenders who rise to bait. A bicycle for instance, or a woman's purse on the floor of a locked automobile. 'About 80 percent of the crimes are committed by the same 250 or so people,' said Chief Greenberg. 'We know them virtually by name.' Chief Greenberg is popular, even among the city's blacks.[111.] In a report to the *Wall Street Journal* Joseph Perkins pointed to financial woes and other problems of black colleges in the US Some 50 black colleges are beset by severe fiscal and administrative problems. 'Several of these schools have fallen on such hard times,' wrote Mr Perkins, 'that some black educators privately question whether it might not be better if they were permitted to die and their students transferred to more viable black institutions.' Black colleges are operating in a highly competitive, contracting market. There are not enough black students to support the country's more than one hundred private and public black colleges as they are currently configured. The irony is that the contraction of the market was precipitated by the civil-rights movement. As white colleges began to integrate in the 1960's, black colleges began to lose enrollment. Today, more than 80 percent of black college students are enrolled in predominantly white institutions. Moreover, white schools usually attract the most promising black students and the most talented black athletes. This

111. The *New York Times*, a special report

leaves black colleges with students who often lack adequate preparation for college and need remedial instruction.

A reconfiguration of black colleges might have already taken place were it not for the generous federal and state subsidies these institutions have received. Indeed, in a speech to black college presidents last fall, President Reagan boasted that federal funding of black colleges has increased to 629 million dollars in 1985 from 545 million in 1981. State funding brings total annual subsidies to black colleges to almost 1 billion.[112.]

June 13, 1987:

Five students were beaten with baseball bats and 13 youths were arrested as a roving band of beer-drinking toughs snatched gold chains and attacked victims at random outside South Shore High School in the Flatblands section of Brooklyn. All those arrested were black and all but one of the victims were white. The violence was touched off by a fight between one black and one white youth. Immediately groups of blacks and whites ran to nearby parked cars and returned with bats and sticks. School security guards broke up the fight, then retreated amid a shower of beer bottles hurled by student bystanders. However, the groups of whites and blacks drifted apart and no general racial melee ensued. But four white students and one black student were attacked by some blacks in a series of incidents that swirled from a parking lot to lawns and surrounding streets. As the police arrived, the chase led to the Glenwood Houses, a city project just north of the school. There, 13 youths, some of the South Shore students, were seized, along with a razor and a knife. While the police called it a racial incident, Rina Stempel, the principal of South Shore High, said there had been no racial problems at the school for five years. The

112. The *New York Times*, from a report in the Wall Street Journal

student body is composed of 3 300 students, 52 percent are whites, 37 percent are blacks, 7 percent are Hispanics and 3 percent are Asians.[113.]

June 14, 1987:

Added security was ordered after what police called the worst episode of racial violence all year in the city's 973 schools - speaking about the rampage at South Shore High in Brooklyn. As many as 80 blacks went on a rampage of random attacks, smashing the headlights and windshield of a van, attacking a black student and four whites with baseball bats, stealing gold chains from three victims and slashing a police officer who attempted to arrest one youth. A 17-year-old black student who asked to be called GF told of a white gang in the school that he said was known as the 'Sicilianos' and that intimidated blacks and other minorities and sometimes engaged in drug sales. He said the reported fight began over a drugs dispute. 'It was a matter of money between the Sicilianos and a black kid,' he said. 'It began as one-on-one, with a Siciliano trying to collect money from a narcotics deal. The black kid's friends stood up for him. The Sicilianos attacked and took it out on everybody around there.' Asked why no whites had been arrested, he said, 'The white kids always get away. It was covered up as a robbery.' Asked why no students had identified the whites involved, he said: 'You mind your own business around here or you get hit.' A white student (16), who said his name was John and that he was an immigrant from Israel, said the Sicilianos 'rule the school'. They use a Burger King across Flatbush Avenue as their hangout. 'Blacks can't say anything in the school if they don't want to get it,' he said. 'The Italians are too powerful.'

A black 10th grader who lives in the Glenwood Houses city project which is predominantly black, but also has a large

113. The *New York Times*, from a report by Robert D McFadden

number of white residents, said: ‘There are boundaries around here. The white kids don't run through the projects at night, and we don't go into their areas.’[114.]

June 15, 1987:

More than 145 000 students attend public schools in Manhattan. Fewer than 10 percent of them are non-Hispanic whites. But, among the 15 000 students enrolled in the borough's prestigious private schools, more than 80 percent are white. In the Kindergarten and first-grade classes, the figure is more than 90 percent. ‘If the school claims it's preparing them for the world, they cannot do so in an all white classroom,’ Angela Flemister said, who set up a program called ‘Early Steps’. She was hired by the Independent Schools Admissions Association to recruit more black and Hispanic youngsters for kindergarten and first grade. ‘Some schools,’ Miss Flemister said, ‘want more diversity which means more children from the Westside, or more who are Jewish.’ This year, of the 2 485 kindergarten and first-grade students in 37 schools who participate in the Early Steps program, 202 were black or Hispanic for the first time. Next September classes will include an additional 15 pupils referred by Early Steps.[115.]

Descendants of black property owners who were forced out of Forsyth County, Georgia in 1912 are unlikely to have their ancestors' land restored to them in Georgia Courts, according to the State Attorney-General, Michael J Bowers. ‘Legal difficulties and a lapse of 75 years weigh against the continued viability of any potential claim by a former black owner or his representative,’ he said. Mr Bowers also cited census data showing 1 098 black residents in 1910 and only 30 blacks in 1920. Even today, county officials say they

114. The *New York Times*
115. The *New York Times*, from a report by Sam Roberts 130 manscript

know of no black residents in the county of 38 500 people about 40 miles outside Atlanta, Georgia.[116.]

June 17, 1987:

Bernhard H Goetz (39) the electrical engineer who gunned down four black teenagers on a Manhattan subway train in December 1984 was acquitted by a jury of attempted murder, a front page headline said in the *New York Times*. The verdict, after a tumultuous seven-week trial in State Supreme Court cleared Mr Goetz of 11 of the 12 charges in the indictment against him, including 10 major felonies. It also represented a complete rejection of the argument by the Manhattan District Attorney's Office that Mr Goetz had acted irrationally in believing that he needed to use deadly force against the youths, one of whom remains paralyzed. 'This has been the most difficult case of our time, Acting Justice Stephen G Crane told the packed court-room after the verdict had been delivered by the jury foreman. 'There will be criticism and there will be support,' Justice Crane told the jurors. 'But whatever is thought about your verdict, you have the confidence of the court.'[117.]

June 18, 1987:

A consensus is emerging among black politicians, civil rights advocates and others that the virtual exoneration of Bernhard H Goetz has dealt a serious blow to race relations in New York City. But at the same time, random interviews with black New Yorkers found that they, like many whites, seemed divided over whether Mr Goetz was justified in shooting four black teenagers who he said looked like they

116. The *New York Times*, special report from Atlanta, Georgia
117. The *New York Times*, front-page by Kirk Johnson

were about to attack and rob him on a speeding subway train.

'The jury verdict was inexcusable,' said Benjamin L Hooks Jr, the executive director of the NAACP. 'I think it was a terrible and grave miscarriage of justice,' he added. 'It was proven - according to his own statements - that Goetz did the shooting and went far beyond the realm of self-defense. There was no provocation for what he did.' He concluded, 'If a white youth had been shot in similar circumstances by a black man while the youth was prone and defenseless, what would have been the outcome then?' In Washington, Representative Floyd H Flake, Queens Democrat, whose district includes Howard Beach, agreed emphatically with Mr Hooks. 'I think,' he said, 'that if a black had shot four whites, the cry for the death penalty would have been almost automatic. You won't get that in this situation.' In Albany, New York, a black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus called the jury's decision 'frightening' saying that 'it sanctions dangerous vigilante actions on the part of misguided citizens'. The Manhattan Borough president, David N Dinkins said, he was 'shaken and dismayed by the verdict' which he called 'an open and clear invitation to vigilantism. Even if the four teenagers Mr Goetz shot 'were guilty of robbery', Mr Dinkins said, 'they would not have been shot for it under our system of justice. In this country we no longer employ firing-squads.' Lawyer C Vernon Mason, counsel for Mr Darrell Cabey, left paralyzed and brain damaged by a bullet fired by Mr Goetz, that severed his spine, began a 50 million dollars damage suit against Mr Goetz. He told the *Times* that the seven-week trial had been permeated by 'a racist hysteria dealing with the stereotyped image of young black men'. 'The common thread is color,' Mr Mason said. 'If this Goetz standard is taken to its logical conclusion, our children could become an endangered species.'[118.]

In a *Times* news analysis it was pointed out that with the

118. The *New York Times*, from a report by David E Pitt

acquittal of Mr Goetz on charges of attempted murder, the balance between self-defense and social order had been disturbed since the circumstances that justify the use of deadly force seemed to have been widened. In any case the verdict suggested that juries had a more expansive concept of what was a reasonable act that a man might do when he felt threatened. 'There was almost no evidence presented,' wrote Joseph Berger, 'that any of the four youths who approached Mr Goetz had actually tried to rob him before he shot them. Thus the jury, by rejecting the charge of attempted murder, seemed to be saying that in the nervousness that courses through much of urban experience, from riding the subway at night to walking a darkened street, such evidence may not matter all that much. Perceptions, the jury suggested, can attain the power of facts.'

Dr Willard Gaylin, the psychiatrist who wrote 'The Rage Within', a book about the anger of life in the cities, notes that though few people can identify with a rapist or child beater, people who have been intimidated or humiliated on the subway can empathize with Mr Goetz. 'That doesn't mean we condone,' he said, 'but that capacity to empathize is a profound mitigating force in judging the individual.' Underlying the issue of crime in this case was the issue of race. Scholars such as Dr Kenneth B Clark, professor emeritus of Psychology at the City University of New York, and black, expressed doubt that Mr Goetz would have shot four white youths asking him for money, Mr Berger reported.[119.]

THE GOETZ CASE IN BLACK AND WHITE, read an editorial in the *New York Times*.

The verdict that Bernhard Goetz was justified in shooting down four black men arouses anxiety among black New Yorkers. New Yorkers who want to avoid further polarizing the city would do well to understand it. To blacks accustomed to continuing charges of police abuse, the Goetz acquittal might look like part of a pattern. In one publicized

119. The *New York Times*, from a news analysis by Joseph Berger

trial, a jury exonerated a white police officer who shotgunned an aged black woman in an eviction. In another, transit officers were acquitted of mistreating a young black man who lapsed into a fatal coma shortly after his arrest. It's not surprising when some voices charge systematic racism.

Unsurprising, but also unwarranted. The New York Police, under a black commissioner, are working to cope with discipline problems among rapidly recruited young officers. Judges and juries err, if at all, on the side of the defendant, whatever his race. 'The Goetz jurors found too much reason for doubt about the prosecutor's evidence against a white man. In another recent case, a Brooklyn jury acquitted a young black man who shot dead a white priest, on a similar ground of self-defense, because it also found reasonable doubt,' the *Times* wrote. In its conclusion it said, 'The clear answer is that adopting stereotypes of fear is too easy, and too costly. Inconvenience routinely imposed adds up to a furious insult. It is magnified by concern that what Bernhard Goetz did, now exonerated by a jury, will be taken as a license by others, in different settings.'[120.] In 1972 the Supreme Court ordered 10 states, including five Southern states, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Oklahoma and Virginia, to develop plans for increasing the number of black graduate students enrolled and receiving doctorates. The plans submitted by the five Southern states were approved in 1978. But a new study says that the five Southern states awarded doctorates to only 78 blacks in the 1983-1984 school year or 6 fewer than in 1975-76. The study also said first-time graduate enrollments, including masters and doctoral candidates, declined among blacks in the five Southern states over the last decade.[121.]

120. The *New York Times*, from a report by the Associated Press
121. Congressman Flake and his aides were black

June 19, 1987:

BLACKS ARE FAIR GAME is the title of an essay on the Op-Ed page of the *Times* written by Congressman Floyd H Flake, Democrat from Queens, Long Island. Mr Floyd retells an experience how not long ago he entered an ice cream parlor on Long Island with a few aides and was confronted by a bewildered looking waitress: The woman was terrified by the entrance of the group of black men, who tried to convince her that Mr Flake was her own Congressman. Mr Flake even drew his Congressional identification card to soothe her. Later in the car, he realized that he just had had a shocking experience having to show an identification 'in an attempt to eradicate the fear and the suspicion this (white) woman felt because blacks entered her ice-cream shop.'

Following the Goetz trial, Mr Flake wondered what would have happened to his group of black men, if the woman in the ice-cream parlor had allowed her suspicions and fears to take control of her emotions and had picked up a gun and had begun to fire at them. The Congressman Flake wrote, 'I am a product of the *de facto* (in reality) segregation environment that pervaded American society up until the passing of the civil rights legislation in the 1960s. During my youth in the South, I lived through the degrading experience of having to drink from a water fountain with a 'colored' sign above my head, of having to enter restaurants through the back door, of sitting in the back of the bus and of using bathrooms designated 'colored'.

'Perhaps our greatest tragedy as a nation is that we are witnessing the fulfillment of the findings of the Kerner Commission Report which indicated that this nation was moving toward two distinct and separate societies. I believe that the Goetz decision sends the wrong signals to white Americans. It says blacks are fair game. If a white person suspects, rightly or wrongly, that a black man may commit a criminal act, then a white person is able to take any action he sees fit. The message this decision sends to black Ameri-

cans is that the life of a black person has very little value ... Bernhard Goetz is considered a hero. I am a black man and an American citizen with shiny eyes and a ready smile. And although I have a good education and hold one of the highest elected offices in America, I am deeply troubled.'[122.]

Jamaica Square is a small, black neighborhood in the midst of the mainly white, suburban Sewanhaka school district in Elmont, Long Island. In its 25 years, the Jamaica Square Homeowners' Association has never had a visit from a Sewanhaka school superintendent. But this week one evening a little before 8 pm, the first arrived. Dr George Goldstein needs black children. The state has ordered the district to correct racial imbalance in its 5 high schools (3 are virtually all-white; one is 20 percent minority, and another one is 50 percent minority). On this night, Dr Goldstein was trying to persuade black parents to send their children voluntarily to 'white' Floral Park High School. They weren't interested. For years, boundary lines were drawn so that black children had to walk past their neighborhood school, Floral Park High, to get to a school farther away that would take them, namely Sewanhaka High. In the black households of Jamaica Square there is a tremendous loyalty to the school that would always take them. Dr Goldstein warned that if this voluntary plan failed, the state could order busing. At 7 a.m. everyone will have to get on a bus.[123.]

June 20, 1987:

In another article for the Op-Ed page of the *Times*, David N Dinkins, Manhattan Borough president, also refers to the Kerner Commission report, published two decades ago, that had offered hard recommendations for ending discrimination. 'We failed to act adequately then, but we must not fail now,' wrote Mr Dinkins. 'The tensions gripping the

122. The *New York Times*, Op-Ed page, from an essay by Floyd H Flake
123. The *New York Times*, from a report by Michael Winerip

city will not disappear without a real agenda to end racism and discrimination.' Mr Dinkins also offered statistics. In New York City, 60 percent of all homeless people and 60 percent of all children placed in foster-care are black. Black teenage unemployment exceeds 50 percent. The infant mortality rate in Central Harlem is 2.5 times that of the Upper East Side. Up to 70 percent of all black youths drop out of High School before graduation. The underlying cause of these inequalities is a lack of opportunity resulting from discrimination. According to the Borough president several steps could be taken immediately to help defuse some of the tensions and to open new opportunities to our city's youths. 'I suggest that the city keep schools open in the evening for extra-curricular activities, that it provide the funds to start youth employment and anti-drug programs and that it establish a city-wide task force to help communities resolve racial conflicts before they get out of control.'[124.]

June 21, 1987:

Twenty-five young black men began patrolling the New York subway system in an effort to curtail crime that they believed disproportionately affects the black community. Organizers of the patrol said it began in response to the acquittal last week of Bernhard H Goetz. Nathaniel Cumberbath, a member of the patrol, which is called the Disciples of Justice, told the *Times*, 'I don't want me or my son to be picked as targets for violence or harassment because we are black.' Mr Cumberbath (33) is a construction worker from the East New York section of Brooklyn. The words D J Safety Patrol were written on the T-shirts of the members of the new patrol. The group was formed with the

124. The *New York Times*, Op-Ed page essay by David N Dinkins

assistance of a Baptist Minister, the Reverend Al Sharpton of Brooklyn.[125.]

July 1, 1987:

Twenty years ago, the Kerner Commission in the aftermath of unprecedented urban rebellion and civil disobedience concluded that America was drifting 'toward two separate societies, one white, one black, separate and unequal.' New York largely escaped the black rage that swept through a 100 cities - the inevitable result of the refusal of the powerful to grant justice and equity to the powerless. 'Instead', wrote Calvin O Butts, executive minister of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem and C Vernon Mason, black civil rights lawyer, on the Op-Ed page of the *Times*, 'we deluded ourselves that race was not a problem in New York, that prosperity offered opportunity to all who were willing to prepare themselves and work hard.'

Both writers link police brutality and injustice against minority groups in New York City to a lack of proper political representation in the City's power structure. 'While blacks constitute 25 percent of the city's population,' they write, 'and Hispanics 19 percent, both groups hold only 14 and 8 percent of the city's Council seats respectively. Asian Americans constitute 4 percent of the city's population and have no seats on the Council or any other elected office in New York. Amore accurate census would document what we already know - that these grossly under-represented groups constitute a new majority that is restless and ready for greater power.'[126.]

125. The *New York Times*, from a report by Esther Iverem
126. The *New York Times*, from a report on the Op-Ed page by the Reverend Calvin O Butts and lawyer C Vernon Mason.

July 6, 1987:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People returned to New York City for its 78th annual convention. More than 15 000 delegates and supporters gathered in the New York Hilton Hotel to listen to the opening address by Executive Director, Benjamin L Hooks Jr. He said, 'One should never forget that, like every other urban city in America in 1987, there is a dark side of hatred, bitterness and intolerance, which is alive and well in the Big Apple (meaning New York City) tonight.'[127.]

Time magazine devoted a special report to the United States Constitution. Under the heading: 'Adrift in their own land', one section was devoted to the American Indian. 'Most American Indians on reservations earn less than 7 000 dollars a year,' wrote *Time*. At least 35 percent are unemployed and those who do work tend to be found in low-wage jobs. Roughly two-thirds live off the reservation, where they often find themselves unprepared for urban life. Native Americans constitute one of the poorest minorities and are likely to be less educated, more prone to illness and more resistant to assimilation into the mainstream than any other ethnic group, even though they have been here the longest.

The isolation of the Indian set adrift in his own land was in a sense built into the Constitution right alongside its ennobling visions of governance. The Founding Fathers viewed Indians as foreigners who shared the continent, not citizens whose rights required enumeration and protection. While women were disenfranchised by assumption, and blacks by infamously intricate calculation, Indians were excluded flat out. Tribal Indians were not to be counted when figuring the representation or the taxes required from each state. Article I of the Constitution empowered Congress to regulate commerce 'with the Indian Tribes.' The power proved to be all but unfettered. In almost 400 treaties with various

127. The *New York Times*, from a report by Lena Williams

tribes, the US predatorily acquired nearly 1 billion acres of Indian land. *Time* reminded its readers that in 1924 Congress granted citizenship and the right to vote to all Indians. But it was not until 1968 that Congress extended guarantees of free speech and due process to Indians on reservations, ensuring that tribal custom did not preclude constitutional rights. The Reagan Administration has been dealing with the Indian Tribes on a government-to-government basis in a reaffirment of Indian sovereignty. 'Despite recent moves,' concluded *Time*, 'toward greater economic development and self-government, in many respects the Indians remain an occupied nation. The suffering has merely slowed, not stopped.'[128.]

July 8, 1987:

John van de Kamp, the Attorney-General of California has said that the state needed Federal assistance to combat a growing problem of law enforcement posed by gangs of Asian immigrants. He said, that as the state's Asian population continues to soar, immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Vietnam, Korea and Japan are becoming increasingly involved in prostitution, illegal gambling, drug trafficking, burglary, robbery and other crimes. State and local police agencies are unable to cope with the problem alone. 'The traditional organizations of the Mafia, or La Cosa Nostra, control a relatively small and unimportant part of criminal activity here,' Van de Kamp said. 'The biggest and fastest-growing threats to public safety come from newer forms of organized crime.'[129.]

128. *Time* magazine, special report, page 51
129. The *New York Times*, from a report by Robert Lindsay

July 12, 1987:

The weeds grow waist-high in the vacant lots along Springfield Avenue in Newark, New Jersey. Children play amidst shards of broken glass and rubbish that has turned foul in the heat. Outside a nearby housing project, pocked with broken windows, adults congregate beneath a few scraggly trees, waiting for a breeze to stir the murky air and listening to distant thunder. This is Newark's Central Ward, where 20 years ago the arrest of a black taxi-cab driver touched off six days of racial violence that claimed 26 lives and caused more than 15 million dollars in damages.

In that angry summer, riots scarred city after city, leaving in their wake looted shops and burned-out buildings. But the damage in Newark - then, as now, one of the poorest cities in the nation - was particularly severe with 1 300 arrests, 700 injuries and as many ruined businesses. Now, in the squalid corner of the Central Ward where the riots began and where the fiery mayhem was most severe, citizens looked back two decades and remembered. They pointed to the station house that had been pelted with bottles and to the roof-tops where snipers had crouched and sprayed the street with bullets. They recalled helicopters clattering low in the sky and helmeted National Guardsmen patrolling the streets with M-1 rifles. 'It was like World War II,' said Teddy Hinson, a limousine driver.[130.]

July 14, 1987:

After decades of fighting 'apartheid' in the United States, none of the 500 top American companies as identified by *Fortune* magazine is headed by a black American. The number of blacks holding policy-making and managerial positions in the Federal Government has also dropped dramatically since before President Ronald Reagan took of-

130. The *New York Times*, from a report by Jane Gross

fice, from 44 in 1980 to 20 in 1986, according to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The number of racial discrimination complaints filed by Federal workers is also on the rise. 'We are getting more calls for help,' said Rubye Fields, President of Blacks In Government, an organization representing 5 000 Federal, state and local government employees. Black employees frequently say that there is 'a glass ceiling' - invisible but very real - that keeps them from the top. Those interviewed said they faced obstacles peculiar to black people in predominantly white institutions. Besides plain prejudice, which often manifests itself in the implication that blacks 'are not intelligent enough', according to those interviewed, there are factors even more subtle. These include, black executives said, the predilection of some managers to promote people similar to themselves, and the social and professional estrangement that many blacks say they feel among white colleagues, especially in the absence of a black mentor. 'You always feel like you are being watched and judged,' said a black investment banker with a big Wall Street firm, who asked not to be identified.

A black who does break through finds himself at times being one of only few blacks among hundreds of people at his job level, and thus faced with severe pressure to prove himself. Derrick Bell, who in 1971, at the age of 38, became the first tenured black professor at the Harvard Law School, recalled that at the time there were no other minority members on the faculty. Six years later he threatened to resign if the school did not hire more black faculty members. 'Now, out of a faculty of 70 or 80, we have two tenured black professors, two blacks who are in line for tenure and two visiting professors who are black,' Professor Bell said. 'It's nothing to boast about, but it is better.'

A black associate at a New York law firm, who like most other blacks interviewed did not want to be identified, asked a *Times* reporter to take notes in his office on a legal pad of the office rather than in a reporter's notebook. 'That way,' he said,' they will think you are a client. I

have too much at stake here. I am one year removed from being considered as a partner. I don't want to say or do anything that could jeopardize my standing.' The associate went on to say that he felt blacks were held to higher standards than their white counterparts and that the slightest irregularity in their work or personality would be used to exclude them from the reward of partnership.[131.]

July 17, 1987:

On the evening of July 8, 1986, two white police officers killed a black man wielding a deer-hunting rifle in Norwalk, Connecticut. Witnesses disagreed about whether the victim, Ralph Fuller (27) pointed the gun at the officers. The rifle was unloaded. Three months later, the racial tension in Norwalk, that had swelled after the killing, was heightened further when another white policeman fatally shot a larceny suspect, Jay Reyes (21) a Puerto Rican, who had hit the officer with a rock while trying to escape from custody. Inquiries by the FBI and other officials exonerated the white officers in both incidents, but the victims' families started law suits. Of the Norwalk Police Department's 159 officers 26 percent are of black or Hispanic origin. However, the *Times* found that the streets are 'steaming with fear and anger and resentment.'[132.]

July 26, 1987:

The level of segregation of black students in the United States remained virtually unchanged between 1972 and 1984, with nearly two-thirds of blacks attending predominantly minority schools, a new study, 'School Segregation in the 1980's' established. University of Chicago researchers also

131. The *New York Times*, from a report by Lena Williams
132. The *New York Times*, from a report by Nick Ravo

found that Hispanic children around the country are increasingly attending segregated schools, and New York is the most segregated state of all for students. In contrast to these patterns it was established that Asian students usually attend 'well-integrated schools with white majorities.' Professor Gary Orfield, leader of the research team cited clear signs of deepening isolation of children growing up in inner-city neighborhoods. 'Whatever may be the roots of the urban lower class, it is certainly true that its children go to schools that are almost totally segregated by race and class and have no viable connection to any paths of mobility in education and employment,' he said. 'It may well be that the children being socialized and educated in these lower class schools are even more comprehensively isolated from mainstream middle-class society than were the black children of the South whose problems led to the long battle over segregated education in Dixie.'[133.]

July 31, 1987:

Tensions run high between neighboring home-owners and merchants and the residents of a one-time lakefront resort that Suffolk County is using as an emergency shelter for the homeless near Lake Ronkonkoma on Long Island. Racial overtones permeate the issue. Five people were injured and two black residents of the shelter, the former Ronkonkoma Inn, were arrested in a recent melee with whites at a Brookhaven town beach a short distance from the inn. Also, two white teenagers were picked up by police for throwing stones at the shelter. 'They imported here all the coloreds from all over because some do-gooders thought it'd be a good idea,' said Richard Scola (46) a postal worker here. 'This race mixing will never work,' he added. 'Ours are. not basically a racist people,' said the Reverend Charles Kohli, pastor of St Joseph's Roman Catholic Church,

133. The *New York Times*, from a report by Edward B Fiske

whose soup kitchen feeds many of the hotel's residents. ‘It's a serious problem and should not become a racial confrontation. It's a question of economic justice and that's where emergency housing belongs,’ he added. Yet, the county police have added extra patrols in the area. Racial incidents have already rocked other Suffolk shelters. In February, there was a cross burning at the Hampton Bays emergency shelter.

Like many communities in the US, Suffolk County faces a severe shortage of emergency housing for a rapidly growing number of homeless people. Last year, Suffolk placed 2 230 families in emergency housing, and is 22 percent ahead of that pace this year. The County also placed 3 950 individuals in shelters last year, and is 13 percent ahead of that rate this year. ‘We are beyond the limits of the resources available,’ said John Sheahan, a spokesman for the County Department of Social Services.

Hotel residents, who typically stay in the rambling, three-story building say motorists routinely yell racial slurs from their cars or stop to hurl rocks at the inn from the street. ‘They yell, “Nigger, you are going to die, you're going to burn in hell”,’ said Mary Windfield (34) and a mother of five who has lived for two months in the inn now.[134.]

August 6, 1987:

Professor Harriet Rabb from the Columbia University Law School prepared at the request of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund as well as for Advocates for Children a report about New York Policy towards the white student population, The report said that the 10-year-old policy to discourage white students from leaving New York City's public schools had resulted in minority group students receiving inferior educational opportunities. The policy relegated minority group students to overcrowded schools,

134. The *New York Times*, from a report by Eric Schmitt

while whites often attend schools with vacant rooms. Schools with a majority of white students offered superior instruction, the report said. Under the Educational Board's so-called integration policy, it has tried to maintain white majorities in certain schools by forbidding minority group students from enrolling in those schools outside their school zones unless a white student is enrolled at the same time. 'According to the report the policy artificially keeps 20 schools with white majorities,' reported the *Times*. (And, it could be added, in an unusual display of persisting 'apartheid policies' in the US educational system.)

There is a dwindling number of white students in the city, where minority group members make up 80 percent of the students who are prevented from transferring out of overcrowded, poor performing schools into the under-used, mostly white schools, the report further stated. Professor Robb concluded that the policy would be found unconstitutional if challenged in court, because the quotas at the schools with white majorities and 'the direction of disproportionately low resources to schools where minority children predominate' made the program vulnerable to attack as a conscious policy to create and maintain a dual school system.' The report also said the question of 'white flight' was practically irrelevant in the face of the 'real disgraces' in the system. 'Only when the worst of the schools have been turned around and the quality of the entire system improves,' it said, 'will the public schools be able to retain and attract back those children for whom the quality of their schools, and not the race of their class-mates, will determine where they will want to go.'[135.]

August 15, 1987:

BRONX PLAYGROUND: FOCUS OF AREA UNDER SIEGE read the headline in the *Times*. For many New York young-

135. The *New York Times*, from a report by Jane Perlez

sters growing up in housing projects, the playground serves as a meeting place, where vivid lessons in behavior and character are learned. Thomas Morgan of the *Times* visited such a playground in the South Bronx which has become the social focus for 1 877 apartments in 17 buildings called the Morris Houses. About 6 000 people live in the project, which adjoins three other projects with another 7.000 inhabitants. Some 34 percent of the families in the Morris Houses receive public assistance, 6 percent receive Social Security payments and the other people are struggling to live just below the Federal poverty line on 11.200 dollars. Nearly 23 000 of the 53 700 residents in this particular area of the Bronx are supported by public assistance. Originally these housing projects were built as an opportunity for inner-city people to move away from the slums.

Arthur Richardson, a teacher and consultant at Children's Circle, a city-financed center for job-training and youth development three blocks away from the Morris Playground said: 'I know families in the Morrisania area who came from the South as young couples, moved to Harlem and lived in a room in an aunt's apartment, then later moved from that room to an apartment in the Bronx. To them, it was like moving to the suburbs. They knew their neighbors, and if a child misbehaved, there was an adult who the family knew would correct him in the parents' absence.' Mr Richardson told the *Times*, today these housing developments in the city have changed to such an extent that next-door neighbors are strangers and the extended family structure has collapsed. 'We are creating a generation of people who have totally dropped out of our society, and we see it every day,' he added. 'We attempt to reach out to the ones that are more reachable, because our resources are so limited.'

August 17, 1987:

For New York City's many black newspapers, times are hard. For most of them, advertising is scarce, and most owners say that profits, if any, are small. But there is still power and prestige attached to the city's black papers, even though they no longer hold the overwhelming importance to the city's black population that they had in the days of segregation. In recent years, black-orientated radio and television programs have stolen much of the spotlight - and importance - of black newspapers as forums for news from a black perspective and the thunderous discussion of race-related issues.

'The black press has a constituency that is fearful,' said Wilbert A Tatum, Chairman and Editor-in-chief of the *Amsterdam News*. 'Our readers fear for their jobs, and, indeed, for their lives.' He continued, 'If blacks are going to make any progress, the media has to reflect who black people are, even with warts. The white press treats blacks as one dimensional: sports, crime and entertainment.'

The essential philosophical difference between the black papers of New York is how they think blacks can achieve empowerment, the word that has come to mean blacks controlling their own political, social and economic destiny. For the *City Sun* and the *Big Red*, the words integrationist and accommodationist are epithets, and the future lies in a kind of economic and political black separatism. To the more middle-of-the road papers, such as the *Amsterdam News* and especially the *New York Voice*, genuine integration remains a cherished goal and true power comes from aggressive political advocacy within the system. Though all of the black newspapers see the world through the prism of black experience, the differences are great and each is perceived to have its niche.

The *City Sun*, an upstart maverick founded in 1984 and based in Brooklyn has become the voice of the new, angrier black leadership that is challenging the black establishment. For example, the *Sun* which has a circulation of about

18 500, against the *Amsterdam News* with 40 000 circulation, dramatically broke a code of silence to avoid criticism of black elected officials and leaders. This taboo, sometimes in the face of fierce battles among black political factions, was based on the conviction that blacks attacking blacks in print was too destructive to tolerate. At the *City Sun* this code of silence is starting to crack in a move toward a more mature, if more critical, journalistic mission than that of the past. Ulrice C Leid, the Managing Editor of the paper described the policy as being 'stridently independent.' This new, tough black journalism reflects impatience and frustration with some black elected officials and other leaders, and is born of the conviction that hard public scrutiny of blacks by black newspapers was overdue. The *Sun* has come out, for instance, with a detailed account of how the Coalition for a Just New York, which included most of the city's top black political leaders, decided to endorse the candidacy of Herman D Farrel Jr, a Harlem Assemblyman for mayor instead of forming a coalition with Hispanic voters in support of Herman Badillo, a former deputy-mayor. If the *Amsterdam News* stands for blacks succeeding within the existing system, the *City Sun* stands for the rejection of what it sees as a white-dominated system that will never allow real power to blacks. 'What I am saying is that blacks are not part of the American family, and never will be,' said Andrew W Cooper, publisher of the *City Sun*. 'Untill blacks learn that lesson, blacks will for ever be in bondage.' Mr Cooper (59) added, 'We're supposed to be the watchdogs of government and that doesn't mean white people. It's never happened before, and some black leaders are not happy and very nervous, but my attitude is, that's too bad.'[136.]

136. The *New York Times*, from a report by Alex S Jones

August 31: 1987

Richard M. Cohen, senior producer of foreign news for C.B.S. Evening News, councilled on the Op-Ed page of the *Times* for foreign journalists to QUIT SOUTH AFRICA. Mr. Cohen argued, that emergency regulations imposed by the Pretoria Government on the media, that American network news organizations and other Western news gatherers should say 'enough' and pick up their marbles and go. 'South Africa is winning the war of images, and that is changing the way the entire world looks at the human struggle in that faraway land,' wrote Mr. Cohen.

'We cannot broadcast or even shoot pictures of any unrest, which is defined by South African authorities. We cannot show police or security forces acting in their official capacity trying 'to keep the peace.' Our cameras are not supposed to be within telescopic range of such events. The point is not what the media can no longer do, it is what the public no longer sees,' postulated Mr. Cohen in the *Times*. Perhaps the most illuminating alinea in his plea was the following, 'The American consciousness about South Africa, I believe, was formed and maintained by the constant television images of brutal repression in many forms: the image of the padded, faceless policeman, club raised: the image of the black youth with fear covering every inch of his face as he throws a rock. These were constant and common images, and now they are missing,' Mr. Cohen complained.

At the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association in New York City two new studies were presented, one conducted in the United States, the other in Trinidad. In the studies pre-school age black and white children were shown black and white Cabbage Patch dolls, identical except for their color. The children were asked which they preferred - which doll they wanted to be, which was 'bad' or nice', and which was a 'nice color' - and which they would like to have.

In the United States study, Daniel Goleman reported in the

Times, two-thirds of the black children preferred the white dolls, a response researchers interpreted as indicating low racial self-esteem. In the Trinidadian study, 85 percent of light-skinned black children preferred the white doll, and 64 percent of dark-skinned black children.

In both studies, a minority of white children chose black dolls. But the psychologists did not necessarily interpret their choices as indicating low racial self-esteem. They did not elaborate on this point either. In the 1940's Dr Kenneth Clark, now professor emeritus of Psychology at the City University of New York, and his wife Mamie, conducted the original study on children and used an identical procedure. They found then, that about two-thirds of black children preferred white dolls. The Clark studies were highly influential at the time. In 1954 the Supreme Court, in its school desegregation decision, cited the studies as evidence that segregation was harmful to blacks. Dr Clark called the new findings in the two reports 'disturbing.'

Some researchers see the findings as indicating that black children start life with an unnecessary handicap in racial self-esteem. 'Black children get messages of inferiority from all sides, Dr Clark said at the current annual meeting. He continued, 'What the children are telling us is that they see their color as the basis of self-rejection. We have tried to hide the damage racism does to black children, but the damage is there, and will continue as long as racism continues.'

However, researchers feel that black children can be helped to develop greater self-esteem through efforts by teachers and parents, and changes in the ways blacks are portrayed in films and television. 'Black children can learn racial pride and self-respect if the models and reinforcements are strong enough,' said Michael J Barnes, a clinical psychologist at Hofstra University, who chaired the symposium where the findings were presented. 'But during the 1960's we were naive in thinking it was just enough to say "Black is beautiful". 'In our society, black and Latino children are bombarded with images - in movies, toys and books - that

tell them theirs is not the preferred race. Most heroes, like Rambo and He-Man, and most authority figures, like police and teachers are white. The message is that authority, beauty, goodness and power most often have a white face.'[137.]

September 4, 1987:

Three black teenagers on their way home from work as stock clerks at a Brooklyn supermarket were attacked and beaten by a group of about 20 white youths wielding baseball bats, a pipe and a fluorescent light and shouting racial slurs, the police announced. The authorities said the attack occurred on a quiet commercial strip of Flatlands Avenue in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn. It began shortly before 11 pm as the black youths were waiting for two female coworkers, one black, the other white, to buy some bagels in a shop on the corner of East 81st Street. The three victims, Ewan Lawrence (17), David Smiley (19) and Michael Washington (19) were treated for cuts and bruises at Brookdale Hospital and were then released. Mr Lawrence received four stitches in a cut on his head. Mr Lawrence later told the *Times*, that one white youth had called out, 'We want to kill these niggers.' Others had shouted, 'We're going to kick these niggers' ass.'

The head of the Police Department's Bias Incident Investigating Unit, Inspector Michael Markman said of the attacked blacks, 'They were hardworking children. These were good kids.' Mayor Koch called the attack 'terrible' and said, 'all of these are bestial acts and should be perceived that way.'[138.]

137. The *New York Times*, from a report by Daniel Goleman
138. The *New York Times*, from a report by Todd S Purdum

September 5, 1987:

Three black teenagers, all victims of a racial assault on a Brooklyn Street were taken to City Hall for a meeting over coffee with Mayor Koch, 'who listened with astonishment as they told him they bore no ill will toward their attackers,' the *Times* reported. Michael Washington (19), arriving for the meeting with the mayor wearing his sprained right forearm in a sling, said that he was not interested in revenge - and did not even care if all of his attackers were arrested. 'If we catch every last one of those guys - not that I want them arrested or anything - but if they can look at all three of us in our face and truly apologize, I mean truly apologize, then I can leave it all at that. I can shake their hand and walk off,' said Michael Washington. He added, 'These sentiments are coming from my heart. I hold no prejudice against anybody, I just now want us to live as one. That's how I feel in my heart.' His companions agreed. 'Retaliation is nog going to prove anything,' David Smiley (19) said.

Mayor Koch later told reporters, 'I was amazed at the generosity of spirit of the three of them.' He added that he was unaccustomed to hearing such sentiments from assualt victims. 'I would never have been so generous,' the Mayor said. He presented each young man with an official navy blue and gold city necktie, featuring a design based on the city seal, and told them they might come in handy some day. Police were looking for the attackers and arrested one suspect, a 17-year-old plumber's helper. He was one of nine white youths brought in for questioning.[139.]

September 10, 1987:

The nation's Hispanic population has increased 30 percent since 1980, five times as fast as the rest of the population,

139. The *New York Times*, from a report by David E Pitt

the Census Bureau in Washington reported. The Hispanic population in America now totals 18.8 million, up 4.3 million from 1980. Of these, 63 percent are from Mexican origin, 12 percent Puerto Rican, 11 percent other Central and South American persons, 5 percent Cuban and 9 percent unspecified nationals. The Hispanic population, on the whole, is younger than the rest of the population, and it has been swollen by a steady stream of migration, legal and illegal in recent years. The Census Bureau estimated that 987 000 illegal Hispanic people had entered the US in the past seven years. The fertility rate is more than 40 percent higher for Hispanic women, according to the National Center for Health Statistics.[140.]

September 12, 1987:

Robert Williams, 16 years old and black was distributing with another black youth of seventeen, Sears Roebuck advertising fliers to homes in the largely white neighborhood of Ozon Pak in Queens. At about 2:30 p.m. a group of 5 to 6 white teenagers walked past the two black youths and threw a small piece of wire, possibly from a coat hanger in Robert's direction. The black boy called out, 'If you were in my territory, you wouldn't have done that.' Words were exchanged, but no racial epithets, and the whites walked on. Robert's companion, who was on the other side of the street during the incident joined Williams, but minutes later the whites returned, four of them, wielding baseball bats. Robert asked, 'What are you going to do, hit me with the bat?'

At the corner of 108 Street, the blacks came across their boss, another black man identified only as 'Earl'. Earl was driving a van and when he was told of what happened, he told Robert Williams to get into the car. The whites walked up to the van and told Earl and the other youth, 'We don't

140. The *New York Times*, from a report by Robert Pear

have a problem with you, it is that wise guy we want.' When Williams was stepping out of the van again, the white youth told him, 'You are a wise guy,' and when Robert responded the white boy swung the bat striking Robert Williams on the head before fleeing on foot with the other whites. He suffered a skull fracture and a broken tooth but was in stable condition at New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center. Robert's aunt and legal guardian, Gwendolyn Bady interviewed by the *Times* later, responded, 'I don't know why they're making such a big deal over whether it was racial or not. My feeling is that my child is in the hospital with a fractured skull and he didn't do anything to anybody.'[141.]

'When I taught at the University of New Mexico,' wrote professor of English, Morris Freedman on the Op-Ed page of the *Times*, 'I got to know a Navajo (Indian) student, a pleasant and intelligent young man who couldn't wait to get back to the reservation. The only reason that he submitted himself to the white man's tribal ritual of freshman English, he told me, was to insure that his family got the subsidy of food and clothing the Government guaranteed for his first year of College. Farthest from his mind was the notion that college was a way into a fuller life or that his tribe might need his academic expertise.'

Professor Freedman then proceeded to examine the question why Americans continuously imposed majority values on minority members. We like to believe we no longer have to homogenize our pluralistic nation to provide opportunity for everyone. We openly celebrate group differences. It is no handicap in most walks of life to have a tawny or a dark pigmentation, a 'foreign' name or a foreign speech pattern. But we have not given up subtler devices to define and on occasion limit minorities, to impose majority values on them. We discriminate perversely by extolling traits as desirable in some way, even lovable. We fail to see that philo-

141. The *New York Times*, from a report by Todd S Purdum

Semitism, to cite one example, can be just another way of separating out the Jew from the mainstream.

For all of the programmed goodwill toward Hispanic and black students at high-toned campuses, professors and peers regard them as almost bizarrely unique: traditionally non-academic minorities in anciently superior academic contexts. As Dr Johnson put the paradox in an earlier age: 'Sir, a woman preaching is like a dog's walking on his hind legs. It is done well: but you are surprised to find it done at all.' Minority students at Ivy League campuses are like women in pulpits. Black young men and women have repeatedly complained that they are looked upon as forms of exotic, even alien, life. They have to play double roles - themselves as well as imitations of their white fellows.

All youngsters find their adolescent years traumatic as they seek a comfortable sense of self on the way into adulthood. We compound the trauma for minority youngsters when we impose on them values and goals that they have not absorbed, that they themselves might not even sense. More even than their families perhaps, we, white society, want outstanding minority students to go to our best campuses. We do not want minority students to fail or succeed on their own terms, according to their own values. We reject those terms and values, which inevitably reflect the constricting effects of their culture of poverty. We will not patiently wait for that culture to develop ideals that reflect the expansive potential of our larger American society. We virtually demand that minority youngsters take on burdens and achieve results that we think they should whether or not the students or adults are socially and temperamentally ready to do so, or we are genuinely ready to help them. No minority person can comfortably survive in the majority world until he attains that dignity and strength of independent, individual identity that members of the majority enjoy. Most of us expect to be taken for what we are in ourselves and not for what we may seem to lack or to possess through our ties to a group. No doubt, my Navajo student, had he got his degree, would have been an asset to his people. He might

have enjoyed a more affluent life-style. That was my distressed sense of the matter. He was oblivious to pressures to remain in college. But that was his decision, wasn't it, and he certainly did not become so starkly and so early the central figure of a private and social tragedy.[142.]

September 14, 1987:

The teachers of Chicago's public school system are on strike and no one knows when the 430 000 students will go back to class. The emergency food program is running out of money. And the Federal Government is fighting to take over the city's crumbling public housing system. 'But the hottest issue at City Hall,' wrote the *Times*, 'is whether Chicago should spend upward of one million dollars to change the municipal seal, the 150-year-old emblem that is embossed on everything from city stationery to the sides of city dump trucks.'

Black Mayor Harold Washington and a group of black aldermen say the seal is racist, because it includes a depiction of a high-masted sailing ship that city documents once described as 'emblematic of the approach of white man's civilization and commerce' back in the 17th century. 'The ship represents institutionalized racism in this country,' said Alderman Robert Shaw, who also believes the vessel bears a resemblance to the slave ships that plied the coast of Africa. As a result, Alderman Shaw, joined by Alderman Allan Streeter asked the City Council to alter the seal by replacing the ship with a likeness of Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, a black, who was a fur trader in 1779 and became the first permanent non-Indian settler of Chicago.

Until now, few of Chicago's 3 million residents, more than 40 percent of whom are black, had ever paid much attention to the seal, which depicts not only the ship, its

142. Professor Freedman referred to tragic deaths of minority honor students from prestigious universities

sails billowing, but also an Indian peering from a nearby shore; an open sea shell, in which a baby reclines; a shock of wheat, and the city's Latin motto, 'Urbs in Horto', or 'City in a Garden.' Alderman Edward M Burke called the new suggestion 'preposterous' and said the city would have to come up with 352 000 dollars just to change fire and policemen's badges, which bear the seal.[143.]

September 16, 1987:

A Federal District Judge in Kansas City, Missouri, in a move to wipe out the vestiges of racial discrimination in the Kansas school system, has ordered sharp increases in property and income taxes to pay for sweeping improvements. The order by Judge Russell G Clark nearly doubled the Kansas City school district's property tax rate and increased by 25 percent the amount of state income taxes paid by anyone with earnings from activities or employment in the district.

The property levy was designed to wipe out a deficit estimated at 27 million dollars a year in the budget for a broad array of school system improvements that he had previously ordered, including dozens of 'magnet' schools designed to attract students from suburban schools and private schools in the city.[144.]

September 17, 1987:

Alan L Keyes, the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of international organizations at the US State Department in Washington has resigned in an angry and public dispute that had racial overtones. The clash was with John C Whitehead, Deputy Secretary of State, his immediate superior,

143. The *New York Times*, from a report by William E Schmidt
144. The *New York Times*, from a report by William Robbins

who, according to Mr Keyes had treated him in a racially offensive manner. Mr Whitehead, the number two in the department, seemed angered and astonished and denied he had acted in a racist manner. Mr Keyes, who is 37 years old, is moving to the American Enterprise Institute, a generally conservative Washington-based group that studies public policy.[145.]

September 23, 1987:

Reports of incidents of racial assaults in which blacks and whites were injured in New York City in the first eight months of this year have already significantly exceeded the number of such assaults in all of 1986. The total number of reports of bias-related crimes for the first 8 months of 1987 are now the highest in the seven-year history of the Police Department's Bias Incident Investigating Unit: 301, compared with 286 in all of 1985 and 235 in 1986. From January to the end of August, blacks were the reported victims of 45 racial assaults, primarily by whites, compared with 28 reports of assaults for all of 1986. Whites were the reported victims of 42 racially motivated assaults, primarily by blacks as opposed to 9 reported last year.

Bias crimes are considered those motivated by race, ethnic background, religion, and since July 1985, sexual orientation. Crimes against Jews are listed in a separate category from those against whites and blacks because an anti-Semitic act is seen as rooted in religious bias. The types of crimes include arson, burglaries, robberies, cross burnings, the painting of swastikas, harassment and oral slurs, written slurs, aggravated harassment and assaults. Not reflected in the statistics are three assaults by whites on blacks in the Canarsie and Carroll Gardens sections of Brooklyn and in

145. The *New York Times*, from a report by Neil A Lewis

Ozone Park, Queens, within an eight-day period earlier this month.[146.]

September 26, 1987:

The State of Pennsylvania has decided to revoke the liquor licence of a large Altoona social club that denied membership to a man, because he is black. Mr Charles Ditcher had repeatedly bowled at the club with friends, but when he sought membership, he was rebuffed. The vote for revocation by the Pennsylvania Liquor Control Board marked the first time the board has ever taken such action as a result of racial discrimination, said Robert Ford, a spokesman for the panel. The Club is a 2 300-member Bavarian Aid Society, whose attorney calls it 'the biggest and probably the finest' in Altoona, an industrial city 75 miles east of Pittsburgh. It has a 100-year old by-law which restricts its membership to whites only.[147.]

Since more than 60 years ago, when large numbers of immigrants and Catholics became targets of violence, to residents of Rumford, Maine, the Ku Klux Klan has been nothing more than a memory. But, today, stirred by concern that the Klan was trying to capitalize on bitter feelings left by a strike at the Boise Cascade paper mill in Rumford, hundreds of people across the state rallied to denounce the Klan and say it was not welcome here.

The Klan itself gathered on a farm about 15 miles from Rumford. Members, many dressed in white hoods and military fatigues, held a picnic and burned a cross in what they called a family gathering. 'I don't know why the Ku Klux Klan has come to Maine,' said Attorney-General James E Tierney. 'I do know they have come twisted by some hatred I don't understand.' The Klan is normally not active

146. The *New York Times*, from a report by George James
147. The *New York Times*, a special report

in Maine, a Northern State, where blacks make up less than one percent of the state's population of 1.1 million.[148.]

September 27, 1987:

Thirty years ago, Central High School at Little Rock, Arkansas, was forcibly segregated in the face of violent white resistance. Today, more black students than whites fill the hallways of the sprawling tan brick building, a symbol of the resegregation that has taken place here and elsewhere in recent years. Central High, integrated under a court order backed by Federal troops, is now 56 percent black and 44 percent white and situated in a poor black area of the city. Few students seem aware that on September 3, 1957, blacks were turned away under orders from Governor Orval E Faubus, who had called out the state guard to enforce his decision. But President Eisenhower dispatched troops from the 101st Army Airborne and federalized Arkansas National Guard and ordered the units to enforce the desegregation order. Black students were finally admitted September 25, 1957 and attended school that first year amidst taunts, threats and racial slurs.

'Resegregation of schools is the great issue of the next generation,' said Gary Orfield, a political scientist at the University of Chicago, who specializes in desegregation issues. 'Little Rock is an example of what is happening all over, but it is not an extreme example. You have cities like Chicago and New York, where the public school systems are almost 90 percent black and integration isn't possible.' He continued, 'The intensification in recent years of segregated residential patterns and the trend of whites to move to the outskirts of growing metropolitan areas while blacks remained trapped in urban ghettos transformed the neighborhood segregation of 30 years ago to segregation on a metropolitan scale.'

148. The *New York Times*, a special report

Willie D Hamilton, the city's first black school board president and others have expressed concern that the task of achieving and maintaining integration of the schools in Little Rock was becoming almost impossible. At Cloverdale Junior High School, several white parents removed their children from school and the police were patrolling amid rumors of racial violence that never materialized. Tony Freyer, professor of history at the University of Alabama said developments at Little Rock and elsewhere proved, 'that the struggle is still with us as a moral and legal dilemma.' He added, 'It seems no one wins rights once and for all. It's all just a beginning.'

'It's a black eye you have learned to live with,' said Becky Rather, a communications specialist with the Board of Education, 'You put make-up on it and show the world that you still can look good.'[149.]

October 3, 1987:

A death row case that has been dominated by emotional issues of race is now centering on vexing questions of who is telling the truth and who is not. What happened August 23, 1980 in a rest-room at Conroe High School in the East Texas town of Conroe when Cheryl Dee Fergeson, manager of a volley-ball team was raped and strangled. Clarence Brandley, the only black among the five school janitors, was soon charged with the crime. His first trial ended in a mistrial when an all-white jury voted 11-1 in favor of a conviction. A second all-white jury found him guilty and sentenced him to death. Mr Brandley had no way to prove his whereabouts at the time of the crime. The prosecution's evidence was based largely on testimony from the other four white janitors, who provided alibis for one another.

Last spring, days before his execution, defense attorneys produced video tapes in which two janitors gave dramatic

149. The *New York Times*, from a report by Ronald Smothers

new information. One janitor, John H Sensum, said he saw another white janitor, Gary Acreman, and another man he identified from a picture as a former janitor, James D Robinson, drag the girl into the bathroom. Mr Acreman even gave two video-taped statements identifying Mr Robinson as the assailant. The other two janitors did not corroborate the statements and Mr Acreman soon recanted his own video-taped statements, so Attorney-General, Jim Mattox said the new investigations did not come up with conclusive evidence. In the meantime, the dissenting juror in Mr Clarence Brandley's first trial said he received 'thousands' of threatening telephone calls, many racially oriented. Questions further grew when the physical evidence in the case, including hairs and semen samples that Mr Brandley's supporters say could have exonerated him, later disappeared from the office of the court stenographer.

Mr Brandley has maintained his innocence not only of the murder but of any assaults on women, of which he later also became accused. Both sides agree that, because of the lost physical evidence and new questions that have surfaced, it would be very difficult to obtain a conviction if Mr Brandley were tried again. But Montgomery County District Attorney Peter Speers said he saw nothing to warrant a new trial. The *Times* wrote further, 'The case has stirred bitter passions amid allegations that the arrest and conviction of Mr Brandley were tainted with racism.'[150.]

A white fraternity and four minority groups at the New Jersey Insitute of Technology have reached agreement in settling a dispute and easing racial tension. The agreement came after two weeks of meetings following campus tensions after an all-white fraternity distributed a flier for a party, that minority groups experienced as racially offensive. The advertisement read 'Howard Beach Goes to Trial'. It featured two illustrations, one depicting public concern over subway shootings and the other showing a

150. The *New York Times*, from a report by Peter Applebome

clothed skeleton in an abandoned elevator. After distribution of the leaflet, some minority groups voiced objection, saying the handbill glorified racial violence against blacks. The fraternity issued letters of apology and changed the flier, which at that point had already been distributed at campus and at Montclair State College. Saul Fenster, the President of the Institute, after having received a barrage of protests, revoked the fraternity's charter. The settlement reached called for the fraternity, Iota Kappa Phi, to be on probation for two academic years, beginning immediately, and for its members to perform community service projects recommended by and in conjunction with the minority groups.[151.]

Octobers 5, 1987:

President Reagan's nomination of Judge Robert Bork to the Supreme Court in the United States has engulfed the White House in a heated debate and has been stirring Washington politics for weeks. Columnist Tom Wicker of the *Times* highlighted an interesting aspect of the controversy in his essay, 'Bork and Blacks.' 'If any one factor seems more responsible than another for the desperate straits of the Bork nomination, it is the new voting power of blacks in the conservative South. As Jack Bass of the University of Mississippi pointed out in an article on the Op-Ed page of the *Times* September 21, 1987, 'none of the 16 Southern Democratic senators can expect to be supported by a majority of the white voters in their states: too many of those white voters have migrated into the conservative Southern Republican parties, or will support more conservative Republican candidates in a general election. These Democratic senators - like all five of those first elected in Southern States last year, each of whom was

151. The *New York Times*, from a report by the *Associated Press*

strongly opposed by Ronald Reagan - must depend on black voters if they are to put together winning majorities. Blacks, in the South like anywhere else, are strongly opposed to Judge Bork's confirmation (to the Supreme Court). Southern blacks are a prime reason why the Southern Democrats who might once have supported any conservative nominee now are lining up to vote against one of the most conservative nominees of modern times. A more graphic result of Southern blacks' new voting strength could hardly be imagined.'[152]

An internal memorandum issued by the New York City Police Department said that racial, ethnic, and sexual slurs made between police employees would not be tolerated and would be investigated by the department's office of equal employment opportunity. Detective Roger Abel, president of the black officers association, the Guardians, said 'There is an undercurrent of racial tension in the department. Sometimes derogatory comments are written onto lockers or made directly to black police officers.'[153.]

October 9, 1987:

A complaint by a black student that he was assaulted verbally and physically at Manhattanville College in Purchase, New York, has become a focus of attention on this suburban campus. De Mille Halliburton (23) said it was after midnight and he was with two female friends who happened to be white. There had been a party at a tennis court. 'We could see security had broken up the keg party,' said Mr Halliburton 'when one guy calls out my name and says "De Mille, you beer nigger, you come to my party and don't pay".' Later at a hearing by a committee of students, faculty members and administrators, which lasted ten hours,

152 The *New York Times*, by commentator Tom Wicher on the Op-Ed page
153. The *New York Times*, from a report by Howard W. French

the student who made the comment explained that ‘beer nigger’ simply meant someone who drinks beer without paying. Less than an hour later, when walking the two women to their car, De Mille heard someone say, ‘There he is’ and six guys approached. Luckily friends from surrounding dorms came out and held them back. The black student went half an hour later to the security officer at the gate to report the incident, but the man answered, ‘Why didn't you file it when it happened?’ Later the complaint was filed with the Dean of students, Tom Anderson. Of the 1 050 students at the College 20 percent are foreign and 13 to 15 percent minority students.[154.]

October 12, 1987:

The State of Florida lifted gun controls. Viewers of NBS-TV's ‘Miami Vice’ already know Florida as a place where cops and robbers - or at least the actors who portray them - regularly shoot it out on the public streets. Now, state lawmakers may be turning television into reality, but this time many of the firearms will be in amateur hands. Critics say that a law that went on the books last week permitting the carrying of guns in public threatens to unleash a new era of real-life mayhem.

Thousands of crime-weary Floridians are ready to pack a pistol in response to fast rising crime. Violent offenses jumped 12 percent last year amid a booming narcotics trade. Already 36 000 requests for concealed-weapons permit applications poured in, forcing the state to hire 65 employees to process them.[155.]

154. The *New York Times*, from a report by James Ferron
155. *US News & World Report* magazine, from a report by Ted Gest with Marilyn Moore in Miami

October 17, 1987:

In the controversy surrounding President Reagan's nomination of Judge Robert H Bork to the Supreme Court, a new scandal arose. It turned out that a black aide to the Senate Judiciary Committee, Linda Greene, telephoned the only black law professor scheduled to testify in favor of Judge Bork's appointment. Miss Greene warned Professor John T Baker of the University of Indiana Law School the day before he was scheduled to testify. Professor Baker did fly to Washington but called the White House next morning to say he would not testify. Supporters of Judge Bork say Miss Greene's action was improper and possibly illegal and showed how Judge Bork's opponents sullied the confirmation process and turned the Senate against him. Miss Greene said she warned Professor Baker to expect a grueling public examination of both his academic career and scholarship and wanted to spare him this public ordeal out of friendship.[156.]

In a new book by Abigail M Thernstrom, published by the Harvard University Press, called 'Whose Votes Count?': Affirmative Action and Minority Voting Rights, it was further examined how President Lyndon B Johnson in 1965 set the stage for the sweeping, regional and punitive law that has changed the political face of the South. First, Johnson promised a joint session of Congress that 'we shall overcome'. Then he delivered on that promise, and four months later, literacy tests were banned and Federal registrars were signing up blacks to vote in seven Southern states (as recently as 1965). By 1966, black votes in the South mattered enough for white politicians to court them, and they still do today. By 1972, 1.1 million black votes were registered in an area covered then by the Voting Rights Act.

Abigail Thernstrom describes in her book how the impact of the Act has changed in two decades since it was passed. She argues that these changes have come about with too

156. The *New York Times*, from a report by Martin Tolchin

little careful thought or open debate. Miss Thernstrom, who is a lecturer and senior research associate at Brandeis University, said at the outset, it was an act to get blacks registered. Now it has become a law to ensure that their votes are influential, especially at the local and legislative levels. In practice, the law now often requires the creation of districts whose boundaries assure the election of black, and sometimes Hispanic, candidates. She argues further that 'judicial and adminstrative decisions too frequently suggest that only blacks can represent blacks,' and complains of the law's apparent belief in the entitlement of black and Hispanic candidates everywhere to extraordinary protection from white competition.'

Can blacks get elected without such protection? Or, to put it more bluntly, will whites vote for black candidates? Here, Miss Thernstrom's research, admirable on the legal and administrative side, lets her down by not measuring political realities. 'She seems to argue what she thinks, not what she can prove,' wrote Adam Clymer in the *Times*. It would be nice, of course, if race meant less to most voters than it does. But in politics few serious participants have the luxury of dealing with an ideal world... Civil rights lawyers, like presidential candidates, have to deal with the system as it is, not as they or Miss Thernstrom wishes it were.[157.]

Virginia prisons are jammed with their share of poorly educated inmates. Two-thirds of the 11 500 prisoners in the Virginia prison system do not have a high school education, and one-third are classified as 'functionally illiterate', or unable to read and write above the sixth-grade level. That is almost 4 000 inmates. Now prison authorities in Virginia designed 'a parole award for inmates, that go to class.' In the argot of the Caroline Correction Unit, a medium-security home for 132 burglars, robbers, rapists and assorted other felons, posters are on display saying, 'Learn to read

157. The *New York Times*, from a review by Adam Clymer in the Literary Review of the week in the Sunday Times

above the sixth-grade level and you just might win an early parole.' Now in most Virginia prisons, denim-clad inmates are not only in prison but also in class, learning to read and write in a 900 000 dollars experimental literacy program that is closely watched by prisoners and penologists across the country.[158.]

Associate Justice Thurgood Marshall of the Supreme Court, who is 79 years old and is black, told a conference of lawyers and judges, that he would outlive critics who have called for his retirement. 'Don't worry, I am going to outlive those bastards,' Judge Marshall said. He has reportedly told acquaintances that he would do everything possible to remain on the bench through the Reagan Administration. Justice Marshall has been highly critical of President Reagan's civil rights record. He sharply differed with the Reagan Administration on rights issues and other points.

Recalling in his speech what it was like in an earlier time when he was a leading civil rights lawyer, Justice Marshall said he and others had to eat and sleep in the same car they used to travel through the South. There was no place to eat those days in the 1940's and 1950's. We slept in the car and ate fruit. One place in Mississippi, we were eating and talking to people and a little kid, I guess 12 or 14 years old, saw that I was eating an orange. I said, 'Hey you want one of these?' He said 'Yeah'. So I gave him one and he just bit into it. He didn't peel it. You know why? It was the first time he had ever seen an orange. That will tell you what we had in those days.'

Justice Marshall expressed also strong criticism of a Supreme Court decision last term upholding the constitutionality of the Bail Reform Act of 1984. The law permits now the jailing of suspects who are shown to be likely to commit crimes, even if they are unrelated to the pending charges. 'Preventive detention severely undermines our long established and much revered principle that a person accused of

158. The *New York Times*, from a report by B Drummond Ayres Jr

a crime is presumed innocent until proven guilty,' he said. 'The Court has traced this principle back to the great civilizations of ancient Greece and Rome. Indictment of a crime curtails the accused's liberty insofar as, but not farther than, the conduct of his trial requires. To conclude as the majority seems to, that those indicted may have their liberty curtailed whenever general social welfare so demands, is to convert the indictment into substantive evidence of wrongdoing, a result clearly at odds with the presumption that one is innocent in the face of the accusation.' Justice Marshall maintained that the acceptance of the Bail Reform Act by a majority of the Court powerfully illustrated, 'that the first things that society seems willing to jettison in its search for security are the rights of the accused of violent or otherwise despicable crimes.' He added, 'I worry that we might not realize until too late the value of what has been cast aside.'[159.]

October 19, 1987:

Each year, more than 1 400 students from a heavily populated black section of Queens ask city officials to let them go to High School in more affluent white neighborhoods as few miles to the north. These students - nearly half of them were turned down - are trying to avoid attending Andrew Jackson High School, a struggling all-black school that many believe has become a dumping ground for the borough's most unwanted minority students.

Although there are hundreds of empty class-room seats in such nearby white communities as Bayside, Bellerose, and Flushing, the New York City Board of Education has placed a strict admissions quota on blacks, part of a policy of keeping those High Schools at least 50 percent white. The Justice Department's Civil Rights Division which strongly opposes racial quotas, has begun a preliminary

159. The *New York Times*, from a report by Stephen Labaton.

investigation. These quotas have sparked a fierce argument in Washington over what constitutes the ‘tipping point’, the level at which an influx of minorities will cause whites to flee the system. In a city that has seen many of its white middle-class neighborhoods transformed into poor, predominantly black neighborhoods in the last two decades, it is more than an academic debate.

In the mid-1970's, for example, the school board tried to integrate Andrew Jackson by redrawing attendance lines to include hundreds of white families in neighboring Hollis. Instead the whites changed neighborhood. People sold their houses and moved out. That failed attempt at integration led to the 50-50 quotas, now being denounced in some quarters. ‘While I know people have said that we have got to hold on to the whites that we have, the Constitution doesn't allow that,’ said Norman J Chachkin, an attorney for the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, which assailed the policy in a recent report. ‘You can't say to a kid that because of your race, you can't go to that school over there that has empty seats.’

In a pattern seen in urban areas across the country, whites have fled New York's public schools since the 1960's, leaving behind a deteriorating system in which three out of four seats are filled by blacks and Hispanics. Of the 273 000 students at 96 public High Schools in New York City, many of the remaining whites are concentrated in about 20 integrated schools, which also happen to be the best schools in the city.[160.]

October 20, 1987:

Terrel H Bell, President Reagan's first Secretary of Education, who served in the Cabinet from 1981 to 1984, has written memoires under the title, ‘The Thirteenth Man: A

160. The *Washington Post*, from a report by Howard Kurtz

Reagan Cabinet Memoir.' Mr Bell reports extensively on racist jokes and sexist remarks in discussions on civil rights at the White House when he served the Cabinet. The Reverend Martin Luther King Jr was usually referred to as 'Martin Lucifer Coon' and to 'Title IX'; the Federal Law that guarantees equal opportunity for women in education was referred to in the White House as the 'Lesbians Bill of Rights.' Mr Bell referred to 'the sick humor and racist clichés' used by mid-level right-wing staffers at the White House and at the Office of Management and Budget. Heads of civil rights groups in Washington commented, that they were not surprise at the disclosures. 'I am not surprised to learn that it was a member of the President's inner-circle that has finally revealed the kind of incidents many of us suspected were going on all along,' said William S Gibson. Chairman of the Board of the NAACP. 'People tend to pick up the same kind of idiosyncrasies exhibited by their leaders.'[161.]

October 21, 1987:

Rancor and hostility toward Lowell's, in Massachusetts, newest group of immigrants has surfaced amid an angry debate over school desegregation. The rising tensions have a familiar ring in the Boston area, where school busing accompanied by ethnic clashes have been a fact of life for more than a decade. But they have bitter ironic overtones in Lowell, a city whose most prominent citizen and economic savior is the computer entrepreneur An Wang, an immigrant from Asia. The targets of recent outbreaks of ethnic tension are also Asians.

Refugees from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam now make up 15 percent of Lowell's 100 000 residents. Lured by the region's flourishing high-technology industries, most of the immigrants arrived over the past four years, establishing

161. The *New York Times*, from a report by Lena Williams

businesses and a Buddhist temple. Hostility towards the Cambodians, by far the largest immigrant group have risen in Lowell in part because of their visibility and in part because of their customs many native Americans find strange or suspicious. Few speak English well. Many live communally in houses packed with several generations of extended family. The Cambodians pool their money, buy a house and share a car. Tensions further increased dramatically, when a Cambodian boy, Vandy Phorng (13) drowned after he was pushed by a white American boy into the Pawtucket Canal. Lowell has 13 000 schoolchildren. After it was discovered that some Cambodian pupils received classes at the billiard room of the Lowell YMCA in spite of vehement opposition a busing plan was accepted by the City Council and some 700 students will now be bused to schools outside their neighborhoods.[162.]

October 25, 1987:

The discovery that American Gullah is a lost cousin of Sierra Leone's Krio language is part of a growing awareness of the Sierra Leonean roots of Gullah culture. Preserved in isolation of the Sea Islands of Georgia and South Carolina, Gullah is widely seen as the purest form of African culture to survive transplantation to the United States.

Renewing transatlantic links broken 150 years ago, two Sierra Leonean scholars are studying the Gullah - the word is used for the people as well as for the language - in South Carolina and Georgia. A delegation of Gullahs from the American Sea Islands is to visit Freetown in Sierra Leone. Rice has been responsible for the close link between the two cultures, American anthropologist Joseph L Opala told the *Times*. In the 1700's rice was one of the American colonies' most valuable exports. But English settlers had no experience cultivating rice and were not resistant to dis-

162. The *New York Times*, a special report

eases - malaria and yellow fever - prevalent in the Carolina swamps. Hence, slaves, who had cultivated rice in Africa were at a premium. They cultivated rice largely with West African methods and little white supervision. After the Civil War, the rice plantations on the Sea Islands were largely abandoned. The decidedly African culture of the local blacks now known as Gullahs survived, cut off from the American mainstream. In the 1920's the first bridges were built and ethnologists followed. In the 1940's, Lorenzo Turner, a black American linguist, found one Gullah woman who sang a song in Mende. In 1979 researchers found 100 000 people in the area speaking Gullah and a core group of 10 000 who spoke Gullah and no English. Other Gullah-speaking communities of Afro-Indian Seminoles are in Oklahoma, Texas, northern Mexico and the Bahamas. Next year a book of eassays on the Sierra Leone link is to be edited by the Gullah Research Centre.[163.]

October 28, 1987:

Fear of blacks, fear of crime (editorial in the *Times*)

Many whites would answer yes, observing that blacks, especially young black men, commit more than their share of crime. National surveys estimate that blacks commit robbery at a rate 10 times that of whites. Yet blacks cannot be faulted for denouncing the automatic assumption that the potential victim's viewpoint is the only one. What about the vast, innocent majority of blacks? Why shouldn't they be able to shop where they want, hail cabs, and walk city streets, even in Howard Beach? Why must millions pay for the sins of a few?

The issue engages a classic dilemma of utilitarianism versus individual rights: At what point, if ever, should needs of the

163. The *New York Times*, from a report by James Brooke

community as a whole be allowed to harm an innocent minority? John Rawls, the philosopher, suggests one widely respected answer: No one ought to endorse a social order that he could not accept if he were in the shoes of the most disadvantaged.

Who then is more disadvantaged, the innocent white subject to crime and the fear of crime, or the innocent black forced into humiliating inconvenience and heightened risk of violence from mistaken acts of self-defense?

The innocent potential victim of crime has more options for protection against burglary and robbery - guards, locks, dogs, alarms and buzzers, legitimate community organizing. Innocent victims of discrimination based on popular fear can do little but to submit. There is no reason to choose? Discrimination, cumulatively, can be as poisonous as mugging or burglary. Both kinds of pain diminish the civility of modern life.

There is no remedy, only an approach, the one suggested by John Rawls. It's not hard for blacks to put themselves in the shoes of fearful shopkeepers and citizens: they are, too often, fearful citizens themselves. Fearful whites need to put themselves in the shoes of innocent blacks. Doing so will not dissipate the reasons for fear, but it can steadily inspire the understanding and reason that keep fear in its place.'[164.]

November 1, 1987:

Beulah Mae Donald (66) mother of Michael Donald (19) dreamt that there was a steel-gray casket in her living-room. Who was the dead man laid out in a gray suit? She couldn't tell. When she woke up from her dream the morning of March 21, 1981, the first thing she did was to look in the other bedroom, where her youngest child slept. But Michael wasn't there. But a few blocks away, in the racially

164. The *New York Times*, from an editorial

mixed neighborhood in Mobile, Alabama, about a mile from the police station, Donald's body was hanging from a tree. Around his neck was a perfectly tied noose with 13 loops.

For Bennie Jack Hays (64) Titan of the United Klans the 25 policemen gathering around Michael Donald's dead body represented the happy conclusion of an extremely unhappy development. That week, a jury had been struggling to reach a verdict in the case of a black man accused of murdering a white policeman. To Hays - the second highest Klan official in Alabama - and his fellow members of Unit 900 of the United Klans, the presence of blacks on the jury meant that a guilty man would go free. Hays had said, 'If a black man can get away with killing a white man, we ought to be able to get away with killing a black man.' After the jurors had announced they couldn't reach a verdict, the Klansmen got together at the house of Benny Hays and decided to go hunting for a black man. Henry Francis Hays (26), Bennie's son took out a rope and James (Tiger) Knowles (17) produced a borrowed pistol. The two got into Henry's car.

Michael Donald was alone, walking home after midnight, when Knowles and Hays spotted him. They pulled over, asked him for directions to a night club, then pointed a gun at him and ordered him to get in. They drove to the next county. When they stopped, Michael begged them not to kill him, then tried to escape. Henry Hays and Knowles chased him, caught him, hit him with a tree limb more than a hundred times, and when he was no longer moving, wrapped the rope around his neck. Henry Hays shoved his boot in Michael's face and pulled on the rope. For good measure they cut his throat.

'Around the time Mrs Donald was having her nightmare,' reported screen-writer Jesse Kornbluth in a cover story for the Sunday Magazine of the *New York Times*, 'Henry Hays and Knowles returned to the party at Bennie Hays's house, where they showed off their handiwork, and looping the

rope over a camphor tree, raised Michael's body just high enough so he would swing.'

It took two years, a second FBI investigation and a skillfully elicited confession to convict Tiger Knowles of violating Michael Donald's civil rights and Henry Hays of murder. Hays, who received the death sentence, is that rarest of Southern killers: a white man slated to die for the murder of a black.[165.]

In America a new discussion evolved around the theme: what is a crime of prejudice? In New York City as of the end of September 122 reports on biased-related assaults had reached the Police Department compared to 56 in all of 1986.

A 22-year-old white man and two white women are walking down a street in Brooklyn. Five black youths approach. Without a word they punch the white man, break his nose and flee. The police classify the attack as racially motivated, but is it indeed? The Bias Incident Investigating Unit started seven years ago in response to a wave of anti-Semitic vandalism. All bias related incidents are reviewed by a Unit that includes three sergeants, one black, one white and one Hispanic and is assisted by 18 investigators. This year up to September the Unit had investigated 1 763 reported incidents.[166.]

Blacks, who constitute about 11 percent of the 29 300-mem-ber New York City Police force, have no representation in the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association executive board and account for only four of the union's 360 delegates. While some black officers convey a sense that race-related tensions - and incidents - have increased within the Police Department, others, including black Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward, disagree. Leaders of the Guardians, an association of 2 500 black officers, say they have not even

165. The *New York Times*. Unfortunately there's a lack of space to cite from Mr Kornbluth's moving description of Mother Donald, and the way she learned to accept Michael's death.

166. The *New York Times*, from a report by Todd S Purdum

attended recent union conventions because of hostility on the part of white officers. Detective Roger Abel, president of the Guardians, said, 'Every time we would send someone there, they would boo or make derogatory remarks.'[167.]

November 5, 1987:

The results of the 1987 state and local elections offer powerful evidence of the continuing importance of race in American politics. In Mississippi, Ray Mabus, a Democrat, was elected Governor on a wave of black votes while losing the white vote by about 3 to 2. Race was the overwhelming factor in the bitter mayoral contest in Philadelphia, where the incumbent, W Wilson Goode, a black Democrat took 98 percent of the black vote and just enough of the white vote to squeeze out a victory over former Mayor Frank L Rizzo.

The elections produced other significant victories for black mayoral candidates, notably in Baltimore and Hartford. But Harvey Gantt, the first black Mayor of predominantly white Charlotte, North Carolina, was upset by Sue Myrick, a Republican, in a contest in which race was not an overt issue. In the Miami Mayoral Contest, blacks will hold the balance of power in a November 10 run-off between Mayor Xavier Suarez and former Mayor Maurice Ferre. Voters set up another run-off in the San Francisco mayoral contest, and so forth.[168.]

A new study by Gail Thomas, a sociology professor at Texas A & M University found that the percentage of blacks enrolled in non-professional graduate schools, particularly in engineering and the physical sciences, declined in the six years after it peaked in the mid-1970's. The percentage of blacks among all graduate students dropped to 4.2 percent in 1982, from a peak of 5.1 percent in 1976. Black enrollment

167. The *New York Times*, from a report by Howard W French
168. The *New York Times*, from a report by EJ Dionne Jr.

in professional schools such as law, medicine and dentistry remained stable at 4.6 percent. 'Black students remained highly underrepresented in graduate and professional schools relative to their availability in the baccalaureate pool,' wrote Professor Thomas. She cited a variety of reasons for the disproportionate enrollments, including poor elementary and secondary schools in predominantly black areas, failure of guidance counsellors and parents to encourage blacks to pursue advanced degrees, and poor performance by blacks on standardized tests, including Scholastic Aptitude Tests.[169.]

November 6, 1987:

For years blacks outnumbered whites in Edwards, Mississippi, but whites nevertheless controlled the town government. But by 1985 blacks had come to dominate local government, holding all five seats on the Town Council and the office of the Mayor. Now angry whites, charging that they were not represented in town government, are threatening to sue in Federal court under the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the law that blacks used for so long to win representation. Some of the whites have been smiling at their cleverness in resorting to a method used by blacks who are in the minority in many Southern towns. The blacks at Edwards are smiling as well, as they slowly, slowly come to grips with the whites', complaints. The Voting Rights Act spurred black voter registration in this town of 1 700 people and produced early electoral gains. Over the years Edwards's white population dwindled and the ratio of blacks increased by 70 percent.[170.]

169. The *New York Times*, from a report by the Associated Press
170. The *New York Times*, from a report by Ronald Smothers

November 11, 1987:

Eleanor Wilson Orr, Head of the mathematics department at Germantown School in Philadelphia published a new book: 'Black English and the Performance of Black Students in Mathematics and Science.' Inspired by the research of cognitive scientists on problem solving, some teachers have discovered that paying attention to words can help students learn to cope with numbers. At the Hawthorne School, an independent co-educational High School founded in Washington in 1956 and closed in 1982, first-year algebra students began with word problems before they learned anything about solving equations. The mathematics department wanted students 'to experience words as tools with which they can think.'

Over a nine-year period 320 students, 98 percent of them black, transferred to Hawthorne. Within two years these students failed 87 percent of the math and science courses in which they were enrolled. In her book, math teacher, Eleanor Orr describes her attempt to trace how differences between black English vernacular (the first language of the transfer students) and standard English affected concepts of quantitative relationships for these students. 'In fact,' she wrote, 'I didn't even know there was something called Black English when I first began to realize that many of the difficulties my students were having were rooted in language.' The book further describes the approach that teachers at Hawthorne developed to correct the problems they had identified.[171.]

November 14, 1987:

On a chilly Saturday night last month, Wendell Heard (17) defied his parents' warnings and went to Celebrity Hall in Washington DC to attend a go-go dance. At 2 am as hun-

171. The *New York Times*, from a report by Joan Countryman

dreds of youths inside the hall were dancing the ‘break down’, Mr Heard lay dying on the sidewalk. Police say he was stabbed after a fight over a girl. A 22-year-old Washington man was arrested, charged with murdering Mr Heard. Wendell Heard's death might have gone unnoticed were it not for the timing and the circumstances. They came amid an emotional debate over curfews for teenagers, a debate with national overtones. The City Council in Washington was considering even a bill that would require the late-starting of go-go clubs to bar people 17 and under after 11:30 pm on weekdays and 1 am on weekends unless they are accompanied by adults.

Washington's discussion of this matter is not isolated. Communities throughout the nation are grappling with the tendency of their young people to congregate in places law-enforcement officials say are boiler-rooms for drugs and violence. Some cities are already invoking one of the oldest of disciplines: the curfew. In Pittsfield, Maine, a town of 4 500 people, a whistle sounds at 9 p.m., warning those 15 and under that they have 15 minutes to be off the streets or face being picked up by police. In Los Angeles, a 10 pm to sunrise curfew prohibits those under 18 from being on the streets or in public facilities unless accompanied by a parent or guardian. Detroit, Philadelphia, Chicago and three New Jersey cities, Trenton, Camden and Newark, have all, in recent years, invoked restrictions on the hours teenagers can be on the streets unsupervised.

‘Curfews represent a critical development in the way we treat our adolescents,’ said Dr Francis A Ianni, a psychoanalyst at Columbia Teachers College. ‘A curfew says families have failed, schools have failed, police have failed. So government compounds the failure by saying, since families are powerless, we will make the decisions for them.’ Dr Alvin F Poussaint, a Harvard University psychiatrist spoke of society at odds with itself and its youths. ‘On the one hand, we are telling kids that they have to be more mature, to take on more responsibility,’ he said, ‘then we

try to limit their activity and behavior by placing limitations on them that often are arbitrary in nature.'[172.]

November 21, 1987:

The New York State Board of Regents has appointed a special panel of three of its members to explore whether black and other minority-group students have distinct 'learning styles' that may call for teaching techniques that are different from those used for whites.

A controversy over learning styles erupted some time ago with the publication of a new Board of Regents booklet suggesting that the cultural heritage of black and other minority group students might prevent them from learning in the same way as white students learn. One passage in the booklet asserted that 'children's racial, ethnic and emotional backgrounds and cultures influence the manner in which they learn concepts and process information. 'The qualities cited included 'a preference for inferential reasoning rather than deductive or inductive reasoning' and 'a tendency to approximate space, number and time instead of aiming for complete accuracy.'

The booklet drew sharp criticism from several key educators, who said it was racist and called for the Regents to withdraw it. 'This booklet is sending the wrong signals not only in New York State but throughout,' said Assemblywoman Cynthia Jenkins, Democrat of Queens. 'God didn't give brains on the basis of color,' said Mrs Jenkins who is black. 'What are you going to tell teachers that have Asian, black, white and Hispanic kids - that they are going to have four different lesson plans?' But others, including several prominent black educators, have spoken out strongly in favor of the concepts embodied in the booklet, arguing that it may add a dimension of understanding in teaching minority group students, who have previously been considered

172. The *New York Times*, from a report by Lena Williams

poor learners. ‘I don't see it as an issue of racism at all,’ said Adlaide Sanford, a black member of the Board of Regents who served for many years as principal of a predominantly black school in Brooklyn. ‘For the first time we are saying, maybe we haven't been doing this right - maybe these students can learn.’[173.]

Calling the New York school system ‘a disaster’, Governor Mario Cuomo of New York told members of a West Side Democratic Forum: ‘Forget about task force to study the new York School System. Forget about studies. We know what is wrong. Do something right now.’

The proposed Task Force would make recommendations concerning governance, management and finance in the New York City school system. Under the Regent's plan the Task Force would comprise 11 people drawn from business, government, labor, education and parents groups. When informed of the Governor's comments, Regents Chancellor, Martin C Barrell, said he was shocked.[174.]

November 22, 1987:

The Citadel in Charleston, South Carolina and the Virginia Military Institute are the last state supported, all-male military colleges in the nation. On the night of October 23rd, a serious racial incident occurred at The Citadel that led to the resignation of a black cadet. That night five white cadets, hooded and sheeted like Klan members appeared at the bedside of a black cadet, Kevin Nesmith, a black freshman and his room-mate, Michael Mendoza, of Philippine descent, were dredged out of their sleep with chants of ‘Nesmith, NEE-smith, NEEE-smith!’ After a confused scuffle with Mr. Mendoza trying to turn on the room's lights, the intruders fled, leaving a charred paper cross. They went to

173. The *New York Times*, from a report by Mark A Uhlig
174. The *New York Times*, from a report by Deirdre Carmody

the room of Terry L Adams, the only other black cadet on the first floor of the Fourths Battalion's barracks.

In spite of this obvious racial incident, the *Times* reported that ‘earnestly, respectfully, all of Mr Nesmith's white company battalion and regimental commanders, all of them white, insist that no racial motives were at play...’ But several blacks interviewed at *The Citadel* by the *Times* offered a different perspective. ‘Watch,’ one said bitterly, ‘they will say that they were just trying to motivate him.’ And black upperclassman said, ‘ Kevin and his room-mate were not motivated, they were scared that night.’ Other black cadets, asking that they not be named, recalled their own experience as freshmen. One came back to his room to find a cross made of popsickle sticks smoldering on his bed. He suspected a white upperclassman who kept telling jokes with epithets about blacks. Another cadet said he was summoned after lights-out to an upperclassman's room where four senior officers waited for him. One braced him at attention, leaned into his face and told him: ‘I hate black people. I don't want you in my school and I'll do anything I can to run you out.’ Of the 2 000 cadets at *The Citadel*, 116 are black.[175.]

November 25, 1987:

The procedures for hiring teachers for New York City's public schools are so archaic and bureaucratic, reported the *Times*, that only a handful of new teachers started in the class-room last year fully licensed. According to a report by the Educational Priorities Panel, New York City was one of the slowest school districts in the nation hiring teachers. Teachers often have to wait up to five years for a test to be given by the Board of Examiners in certain subjects. Without a license from the Board a teacher has no job security

175. The *New York Times*, from a report by Dudley Clendinen

and receives less pay and benefits. ‘It is very hard to attract the best teachers,’ said the report, without offering them more than a chance of permanent employment. Understandably, prospective teachers are alienated by New York City's arduous application process.’[176.]

November 30, 1987:

Co-op City, the huge integrated apartment complex in the northeast Bronx in New York City is about to begin a marketing campaign. The objective is to persuade more white people to live there. ‘This decision,’ reported the *Times*, ‘is not without irony.’ When it opened 19 years ago, Co-op City emerged as a symbol of refuge for whites leaving other neighborhoods in the borough following an influx of blacks and other minority groups. Gradually, however, minorities began renting apartments in the 15 000 unit buildings and presently Co-op City is populated by 40 percent blacks, 15 percent Hispanic people and therefore less than half whites. The community's 15-member board of directors, which includes 4 black members and 1 Hispanic member decided to spend money on advertisements aimed primarily at white audiences to bring in again more whites.

Some black and Hispanic residents voiced philosophical reasons for supporting efforts to maintain the white population at Co-op City. Many said that with a sizeable white population, such basic services as maintenance and sanitation, as well as the quality of schools, would be less likely to decline. ‘White people get listened to more,’ said Patricia Carden, a black post office clerk.[177.]

On November 25, Harold Washington, the first black Mayor in Chicago, Illinois, the third largest city in the United States died at 65 in his office of a heart attack. His untimely death ushered in the next chapter in the evolution

176. The *New York Times*, from a report by Jane Perlez
177. The *New York Times*, from a report by Sam Howe Verhovek

of black political power, what the late Mayor called, ‘The Movement.’ Mr Washington's successor, who is expected to be black, is not likely to face the same kind of hostility from white aldermen, but neither will the next Mayor enjoy the same kind of monolithic, almost revered support, from blacks. Indeed, as the 50-member City Council prepares to select an Acting Mayor who will serve until the spring of 1989, the city's black political leadership has divided into rival camps for two black aldermen. The efforts of the Reverend Jesse Jackson, who entered the fray in the hope of creating a consensus has been unable to bring the two sides together. ‘Blacks have tasted political power,’ said Melvin Holli, a professor of history at the University of Illinois, ‘and now they are realizing there are some internal differences over how to utilize that power. Matters of ideology, and not solely race, are coming into play.’

The city's 18 black aldermen and 4 Hispanic aldermen were huddling behind closed doors on the South Side of Chicago, while 22 of the 28 white aldermen met privately on the North Side.[178.]

December 3, 1987:

The Census Bureau says whites are twice as likely as blacks to complete college, although there is a far smaller gap between the races in finishing High School. The proportion of adults 25 and older who had completed High School rose from 24 percent in 1940 to 74 percent in 1985. The percentage of adults 25 and older who had completed four or more years of college climbed from 5 percent in 1940 to 19 percent in 1985.

Educators have expressed alarm about past findings that found a drop in the percentage of black High School graduates 18 to 24 years old who are enrolled in college. The

178. The *New York Times*, from a report by Dirk Johnson

percentage of those blacks enrolled in college fell from 33.5 percent in 1976 to 26.1 percent in 1985.[179.]

December 10, 1987:

The New York City Taxi and Limousine Commission and the Human Rights Commission discovered the folowing: Cabbies ignored 25 percent of the white decoys put on the streets to test the system and they passed over 39 percent of the black would-be passengers. On the Upper East Side, blacks were passed over twice as often as whites. Black and Hispanic drivers were less likely to deny service than were white drivers. Generally, cabbies insist it isn't personal. Blacks, they say, often live in unsafe and outlying neighborhoods from which drivers probably won't return with a paying passenger. Statistically, blacks are also more likely to commit crime. Black men are suspects in at least five of the seven murders of medallion cabbies this year.[180.]

December 12, 1987:

The 1980 census showed that 394 counties, covering 45 percent of the land area of the United States, including virtually all of Alaska, have six or fewer people per square mile. In all, only 2.2 million people lived there. Over the past two years these sparsely populated areas of the US have gained increasing attention from authorities and health care professionals. In the history books, the great American Frontier disappeared around 1890. Now it is argued, however, that this death sentence was proclaimed prematurely. Specialists say that the vast open spaces of the American West remain the nation's most misunderstood and dangerous region, and one that needs to be viewed in

179. The *New York Times*, from a report by the Associated Press
180. The *New York Times*, from a report by Sam Roberts

an entirely different light than rural counterparts elsewhere. Experts say that rates of violent death among youths in the most isolated parts of the West are higher than those in big-city ghettos, and studies show residents of the underpopulated areas, that some still label the frontier, have worse health conditions and shorter lives. Also more than distances are involved. The Frontier is also defined by the West's boom-and-bust economy and dangerous occupations like mining, forestry and oil drilling. Also at play are less tangible factors: the historic machismo of the West and the transient nature and fragile economies of many Western towns. Some experts contend the combination has produced a far more rootless, violent world than small towns or rural areas elsewhere.[181.]

The Guardian Angels from New York City, with their red berets and metal-studded belts, who have become known for their subway patrols, have now moved their crime-fighting above ground, and cover such dangerous tough intersections as Eighth Avenue and 30th Street, where they are trying to rid the neighborhood of drug dealers. The move is troubling some longtime Angels supporters as well as the New York City Police. ‘The Police Department has no real plan to deal with the “crack” problem,’ said Curtis Sliwa (33), founder of the group, he runs with his wife, Lisa. He said the Angels had 250 teenagers, mostly black and Hispanic on the streets patrolling neighborhoods unarmed. ‘If the citizens don't do it for themselves, it is not going to get done,’ said Mr Sliwa.

The Police said they could deal with the problem without the ‘Guardian Angels’ and that they were worried the Angels' efforts might sometimes amount to interference. ‘They are a little too macho at times,’ said Deputy Inspector Richard Mayronne of the mid-town South Precinct.[182.]

181. The *New York Times*, from a report by Peter Applebome
182. The *New York Times*, from a report by Winston Williams

December 15, 1987:

Just to the West of Valley Stream, in Queens, lies Springfield Gardens, where the schools are more than 90 percent black. Just to the east of Valley Stream lies Malverne, where schools are 52 percent minority group members. To the north lies Elmont, where schools are more than a third minority group members. And right in the middle sits Valley Stream, a white island, where schools are less than 1 percent black.

Civil rights leaders have strongly charged that Valley Stream stays so white partly because of racial steering by real estate brokers - white buyers are steered to white neighborhoods, blacks to black areas. White brokers deny this and a fine has been established of 500 dollars and a suspension of the license for 30 days against racial-steering.[183.]

Samuel M Ehrenstadt, the Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the New York region has termed a shift in the New York labor pool 'historic'. He predicted that minorities would make up most of the city's labor force by the end of the decade. The change reflects a fundamental shift in the population of New York City over the past 36 years in which the number of whites have considerably decreased by millions and the number of blacks, Hispanic and newer ethnic groups, such as Asians, have grown almost by as much. Mr. Ehrenstadt said that the size of the black and non-white labor force had increased by 30 percent[184.] since 1977, while the white labor force had dipped by 3.9 percent.

183. The *New York Times*, from a report by Michael Winerip
184. The *New York Times*, from a report by Jesus Rangel

December 20, 1987:

Social scientists are focusing new energies on an ‘underclass’ of Americans who live in nearly total isolation from mainstream society. Scholars are now trying to learn more about the deteriorating inner-city areas where not working is the norm, crime is a commonplace and welfare is a way of life. As middle-class Americans move back into the cities and gentrify crumbling neighborhoods, people are confronting problems they once commuted past. Research into the cause and spread of persistent poverty and social division is intensifying as policy-makers struggle toward reshaping a welfare system that has failed to halt poverty's growth. Americans have long been reluctant to suggest that their society is stratified by class, but the under-class label, although variously defined, is increasingly accepted as a tool in trying to understand the small but highly visible part of society that lies outside societal norms. Overwhelmingly poor, but characterized by more complex factors than the arbitrary income levels of government-defined poverty, these people account for a disproportionate share of social pathology, from teenage pregnancy to drug abuse to homicide. ‘This is one of the most important issues of the remainder of the 20th century,’ said Dr William J Wilson, Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago who is also author of the book *The Truly Disadvantaged*. ‘It will be increasingly difficult to have a healthy environment in these large, central cities when a substantial segment of the population is socially isolated,’ he said.

Just what constitutes the under-class is not a settled matter, but researchers are looking beyond poverty to analyse its many problems. ‘Either the term “under-class” is a new pejorative label for the poor or something real is going on here that involves more than just low income,’ said Dr Isabel V Sawhill, senior fellow at the Urban Institute.[185.]

185. The *New York Times*, from a report by Isabel Wilkerson

December 21, 1987:

In the second Howard Beach trial three white teenagers were convicted of second-degree manslaughter in the death of Michael Griffith (23), who was black. The three white teenagers were further convicted in first-degree assault for attacking Mr Cedric Sandiford (37) who also is black. After 12 days of deliberations the jury returned the verdict in an emotionally charged court-room in Queens. The three white teenagers convicted are Jon Lester (18), Scott Kern (18) and Jason Ladone (17). Mr Lester and Mr Kern were acquitted of second-degree murder in Mr Griffith's death. The fourth defendant in the Howard Beach trial, Michael Pirone (18) was acquitted from all charges against him, including manslaughter.

The convicted teenagers face maximum prison sentences of 5 to 15 years for manslaughter and 5 to 15 years for assault, and Mr Lester and Mr Kern face up to one year for their convictions of fifth-degree conspiracy. Dominic Blum (25), a white court officer from Brooklyn and the son of a New York Police officer, who actually did kill Mr Griffith when he ran onto the Parkway was never arrested. The way in which the authorities treated him was among the grievances cited by the lawyers of the Griffith family, Alton H Maddox Jr and C Vernon Mason, both black. Except for Mr Lester, none of the defendants - all students or former students at John Adams High School in Ozone Park, Queens - had a criminal record at the time of the tragic incident with Mr Michael Griffith.[186.]

With passion and anger the dead black boy was mourned on the first anniversary of his death at a crowded memorial service in Our Lady of Charity Roman Catholic Church on Dean Street in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. At least 500 people filled the seats and aisles of the Church in which a powerful figure of a black Christ crucified against a map of Africa loomed behind the pulpit. The

186. Compiled from various reports in the *New York Times*

service became a stirring occasion of anger against a system that many speakers compared to that of South Africa. Among those attending the service were Michael Griffith's Mother, Jean, and Cedric Sandiford, one of the black men that survived the Howard Beach incident.

'The death of Michael Griffith reminds us that we are an African people,' the Reverend Benjamin J Chavis Jr, executive director of the United Church of Christ's Commission on Racial Justice, told the congregation. 'In South Africa our people are massacred by white racism, and it is the same here in New York City too,' Mr Chavis said. Shouts of 'Teach' and 'Right on' moved through the congregation. 'You can't just cry freedom - you must fight for it,' Mr Chavis said in a theme that was echoed by many speakers. The well-known lawyer William Kunstler also said that the injunction obtained by the city's Corporation Counsel asking that a city-wide protest demonstration against racism should be barred 'an outrage in the spirit of South Africa.'[187.]

December 22, 1987:

Hours before the verdict in the Howard Beach trial came in last night, defense lawyers asked for a mistrial because of reports that a television news producer, saying he was acting as the agent for the jury forewoman, had sought to sell her story to three newspapers. But Justice Thomas A Demakos of the State Supreme Court in Queens denied the mistrial motion.[188.]

In the meantime, with surgical precision, a protest against racism by several hundred people severed critical subway and bridge links between Brooklyn and Manhattan late yesterday afternoon. The protest disrupted the home-bound rush of hundreds of thousands of commuters and holiday

187. The *New York Times*, from a report by Steven Erlanger
188. The *New York Times*, from a report by Joseph P Fried

shoppers. Defying a judicial order and mounting one of the most disruptive actions in years, the demonstrators blocked east-bound traffic on the Brooklyn bridge and halted service on eight heavily travelled subway lines by pulling emergency cords, holding train doors open and then leaping onto the subway tracks at key stations. 'No justice, no peace', the predominantly black demonstrators chanted as they rallied at the Brooklyn Civic Centre and marched on their objectives. At least 65 people, including three leaders of the protest, were arrested, most of them for disorderly conduct. There were no injuries in what was a disruptive but essentially non-violent protest.[189.]

December 23, 1987:

The *Times* called the verdict in the Howard Beach death of Michael Griffith, 'criminal justice at its best.' The editorial further stated, 'But only hours before the tensely waited verdict, an ill-timed demonstration recklessly inflamed the atmosphere. What did it accomplish, other than to frustrate hundreds of thousands of commuters and create a climate of danger for the whole city?'

'Some black lawyers and clergymen could not show respect for either the law or the public interest. Even while the jury was doing its work, they exploited the tension by leading a widespread disruption of subway and Brooklyn Bridge traffic during rush hour. Such a demonstration after an acquittal might have been understandable. Occurring when it did, it can only raise the question: Did they anticipate the possible consequences?' And the editorial closed with the observation: 'Racism is hardly limited to Howard Beach or New York City. All over urban America, economic shifts, crime and disintegration of neighborhoods feed racist fears and reactions. That was the atmosphere in which the How-

189. The *New York Times*, from a report by Robert D McFadden

ard Beach tragedy began. The trial ended by showing a city at its best, upholding civilized values.'

December 29, 1987:

Another racial attack has occurred, this time in the Bath Beach section of Brooklyn on Christmas day. The police said that at least a half-dozen white youths attacked two brothers, both black, called Steven LaMont (31) and his brother Sylvester (29). 'They were coming from all angles like a wolf-pack, rearing over cars, dodging in between cars, coming from behind vans, in front of vans,' said Steven LaMont. 'They were coming at us like a mob. And all they wanted to do was hurt us, hurt or kill.' Their lawyer, C Vernon Mason said, that the incident was rooted in what he called a climate of radical division and animosity that has been fostered by Mayor Edward Koch. One youth has been arrested so far in this latest racial attack in New York.[190.]

December 30, 1987:

'Should race be a factor in the selection of New York City's next schools chancellor?,' asked an editorial in the *Times*. 'Of course it should - but it can be only one factor in determining who could function most effectively to rescue the floundering school system.'

The editorial: 'Race and the Chancellor Race' continued: 'Black demonstrators point out that there is a plurality of public school students, 38 percent are black and 34 percent more are Hispanic, yet only one black and one Hispanic are represented on the seven-member Central Board of Education. The school system appears to offer a prime opportunity for new minority leadership.'[191.]

190. The *New York Times*, from a report by George James
191. The *New York Times*, editorial

The small town of Keysville, Georgia is 70 percent black. When the town was incorporated in 1890, the boundaries were established as everything within a half-mile of the Keysville Academy. Later a tornado demolished the building in about 1895 and over the years its exact location became unclear. When the town government disbanded in 1933, it left Keysville incorporated but ungoverned, with no city water or sewer system, and no police or fire department. State Highway 88, which meanders through part of town, is virtually the only paved surface. Sandy roads lined by scrub bush, rusty cars and barking dogs lead to the shacks and mobile homes where most of the people live. Some people have wells and septic tanks. Others haul water and have crude home-made cesspools. The nearest doctor is 10 miles away. Keysville's schools, one black and one white, were disbanded in the 1950's. Children are bused 18 miles to schools in Waynesboro, Georgia. The town has two churches, one for blacks and one for whites. Whites live on one side of the highway, blacks on the other. With no government, Keysville gets no state tax money or other benefits because there is nobody to receive them.

The blacks in Keysville began an action to reactivate the government of the town. It would mean to begin with running water and fire protection for the 300 residents of the rural town. Black residents scheduled an election for mayor and a town council, but whites managed to get a court injunction to halt the election, knowing they were going to be outvoted. ‘Racism, in our opinion, is the real reason this injunction was placed on the citizens of Keysville to deny them the opportunity to re-enfranchise their community,’ said Georgia state representative Tyrone Brooks, a member of the legislative Black Caucus. The trick used was that no election could be held prior to the exact establishment of the town's boundaries and those had become vague since the tornado of 1895.[192.]

192. The *New York Times*, from a report by the Associated Press

Father Lawrence Lucas, the black pastor of the Resurrection Roman Catholic Church on West 151st Street in Manhattan got himself into hot water during a speech to several hundred black educators and civil rights advocates who had rallied in support of Adlaide L Sanford as black Schools Chancellor in New York City. At one point Father Lucas said, 'It seems that in this city, that each group of what we call Caucasian, has a segment to do us in. Those who are killing us in our homes, falsely arresting us in the subway, who are murdering us in the streets, come primarily from the Catholic persuasion. Those who are killing us in the classroom I do not have to tell you what persuasion they come from. You just have to look at the Board of Education, and it looks like the Knessel in Israel.'

Mayor Edward Koch, a Jew himself, was up in arms. At an impromptu press conference he sharply criticized Father Lucas for 'exacerbating racial tensions.' He continued, 'Happens there is one Jew on the Board of Education. I wouldn't care if there were seven, if they were the best people in the city but it happens there is only one. And for Father Lucas to engage in invective that can only have as its purpose to get people to denounce Jews or to denounce Italians - which is what he did - is an outrage.' The Mayor protested with John Cardinal O'Connor of New York.[193.]

December 31, 1987:

The *New York Times* takes Mayor Edward Koch to task for his sharp denunciation of a black priest, Father Lawrence Lucas in what the mayor considered a slur on New York Jews. 'While justified to defend himself', commented the *Times*, 'Mr Koch fueled the fire by denouncing the "vile rhetoric" on the part of some of the militant leaders in the minority community.' Even in normal times such sputter-

193. The *New York Times*, from a report by Allan Finder

ing would be unacceptable. In the wake of the Howard Beach case, it is intolerable. The freezing weather ought to be considered a blessing: without it, New York could well become a racial tinderbox... New Yorkers of all races have a right to expect leadership from those who would lead. And leadership begins with a civil tongue.'

In the meantime, amid the crisis in Keysville, Georgia over a democratic election for a town government, a Federal Judge in Atlanta, Owen Forrester, ordered an election rejecting the argument of a state judge, that the town's boundaries were too indistinct to hold a legal election. In Washington, the Justice Department announced that it would send two Federal observers to monitor Keysville's lone polling place 'to determine whether minorities are able to vote without interference.'[194.]

January 1, 1988:

In an interview in the *Times* Father Lawrence E Lucas from Harlem elucidated on earlier remarks in which he said he was quoted out of context. He stressed everyone was being quoted out of context including Cardinal O'Connor himself following remarks the prelate made during a visit to Israel about Palestinians. 'I don't see him (Cardinal O'Connor) shutting up his responsibilities to teach the moral responsibility of the church,' said Father Lucas. All he had wanted to convey was that the New York School System was not educating its children, the majority of whom are Hispanic or black. He felt that 'the power in the school system in training teachers and administrators and sometimes those who financially benefit from the educational dollars are Jews.' Therefore, he said, Jews should be demonstrating with the blacks for reforms.

Father Lucas further stressed, that blacks in America had been suffering their own Holocaust since slavery. 'That too

194. The *New York Times*, from a report by Associated Press

is genocide, whether you do it in the gas chamber, or slowly and painfully. We don't have state-ordered liquidations, but the results are the same.' He further acknowledged that he had a pistol permit and carried a. 38 in a holster under his sweater. He said he had received many threats over the years and as he spoke a police car was parked outside, in response to threatening calls. He said that 11 white priests also had gun permits and that he would give up his when Mayor Koch gives up his bodyguards.[195.]

January 5, 1988:

Congress, attaching special significance to the financial plight of black colleges and universities, has increased the amount of Federal aid to those schools by about 50 percent this year, to 73.1 million dollars. The action gained little attention in the 604 billion dollars catch-all spending bill that became law on December 22. But lawmakers, Congressional experts and lobbyists for colleges say it's Congress's strongest statement to date on behalf of black colleges.[196.]

Early on Christmas night, Loyal Garner Jr (34) and a truck-driver for the Sabine Parish, the county government in Louisiana, said goodbye to his wife and six children in Florien, Louisiana, close to Hemphill, Texas. He hopped in his pick-up truck and headed with two companions to retrieve a friend's automobile just across the border into Texas. Two days later, he was dead. His swollen, bloodied features almost unrecognizable after a night in the Sabine County jail in Hemphill, East Texas, a town of about 1 500 people. Mr Garner had been stopped by local police officers not long after entering Texas and charged with driving while intoxicated. The officers said he refused to take a breath test and was taken to the county jail. Mr Garner's two

195. The *New York Times*, from a report by Ralph Blumenthal
196. The *New York Times*, from a report by Julie Johnson

companions, Alton Maxie and his brother Johnnie, both also black, were arrested as well and charged with public intoxication. Alton Maxie said the men began banging on their jail cells more than a half hour after their arrest, asking to be allowed to place a call to their families. Mr Maxie said two officers appeared and asked who was beating on the cells. When Mr Garner said it was he, the officers entered the cell and began beating him, Mr Maxie told the *New York Times*. He said Mr Garner was then dragged to a room down the hall where they could hear his moans as the beating continued. 'They took me out there and asked if I wanted some,' Mr Maxie said. 'They got in my face and said then I better go back to my cell and keep my mouth shut.' Later, he said, Mr Garner was dumped back in the cell, his shirt soaked in blood and his face battered. Mr Garner spent the night lying on the ground, his eyes open, breathing heavily but not moving, Mr Maxie said. When deputies were unable to rouse him in the morning, Mr Garner was rushed to a local hospital, and then transferred to the Tyler Medical Center where he died December 27. The preliminary coroner's report said he died of head injuries. Now, the three police officers concerned, Police Chief Thomas Ladner, and county sheriff's deputies Bo Hyden and Bill Horton have been charged with depriving Mr Garner of his civil rights by beating him to death. The *Times* specified, 'Mr Garner was black and the three law-enforcement officers, like the rest of the Hemphill and county law-enforcement officers, were white.'[197.]

January 6, 1988:

The small, impoverished town of Keysville, 120 miles south of Atlanta, Georgia finally re-established local government that had been dormant for 54 years. Black candidates won the posts of mayor and four of the five council seats in a

197. The *New York Times*, from a report by Peter Applebome

close election in this town of 300 people. According to observers 90 percent of the black voters and 80 percent of the whites cast their ballots. Emma Grehsam (64) and a retired black schoolteacher won the mayor's race. ‘I am convinced,’ she told the *Times*, ‘that we won a victory, but the battle is not over. It's terrible, but it seems that some people in this town want us to remain the way we were in 1933.’[198.]

January 6, 1988:

Increasingly, black politicians, educators and community leaders have risked uncomfortable answers as they confront the plagues of crime, poverty and poor academic performance. Its answers remain elusive. To help teachers understand, the New York State Board of Regents drafted a manual on drop-out prevention. It suggests that ‘children's racial, ethnic and emotional background and cultures influence the manner in which they learn concepts and process information.’ It lists among qualities noted in African-Americans the possession of a keen sense of justice and quick perception of injustice. It also cites tendencies to view things in their entirety and not in isolated parts, to approximate space, number and time instead of aiming for complete accuracy and to focus on people and their activities rather than objects.

It is now being expected, that a majority of Regents would want to delete this section on learning styles from future editions of the manual while outside experts consider its merits. ‘Caricaturizing people by the color of their skin or their ethnic origin is racist,’ said Louis Grumet, executive director of the State's School Board Association, who is white. ‘The ultimate of this section is to say that black kids can't learn the way white kids can, therefore we should go back to ‘separate but equal.’ ‘It's an incredibly stupid

198. The *New York Times*, from a report by Ronald Smothers

approach,' agreed Dr Kenneth Clark, a former Regent, who is a prominent black psychologist. 'There are individual differences in learning styles, but to lump it all together in terms of groups or culture doesn't make any sense.'[199.]

January 7, 1988:

Governor Mario Cuomo of New York, reacting to the beating of three black men in Howard Beach, has announced he is establishing a Task Force on Bias-Related Violence to suggest state actions 'to deter bias-directed violence and to address its causes and effects.' 'I believe,' said the Governor, 'it is essential to take a renewed look at the causes of this form of violence and to develop remedies and strategies, in addition to those already provided in our criminal justice system, that attack the roots of hatred that result in violence against others.'

Of the 60 racial incidents that occurred in the Essex County communities of Maplewood and South Orange over a period of three years, the case of spray-painting racial epithets on the home of a black couple, Jean and Marie Pierre has gone to trial in Newark, New Jersey. The defendant, Edward Davidson, a senior student at Elon College in North Carolina, admitted that he had used racial slurs and had drawn pictures of burning crosses and figures with the letters KKK, but he said, he had done so as jokes 'for my friends, some of whom are black.' If convicted of criminal mischief, damage to property and putting people in fear of bodily violence, as charged, Mr Davidson could be convicted to a maximum of eight years in jail and 22 500 dollars in fines.[200.]

199. The *New York Times*, from a report by Sam Roberts
200. The *New York Times*, from a report by Alfonso A Narvaez

January 13, 1988:

A Supreme Court case arose out of a job discrimination claim between white New York City police officers on the one hand and minority group officers on the other. Black and Hispanic officers account for 21 percent of the officers that took, for instance, in 1984 a test to be promoted to sergeant. Only 6.5 of the group received high enough grades to be advanced, but the black and Hispanic officers sued the City, maintaining that the test had been racially discriminatory and not job-related. Under a settlement all officers who were eligible for promotion on the basis of their scores on an examination were promoted without regard to race, along with enough lower-scoring black and Hispanic officers to make the racial make-up of the new class of sergeants proportional the number of black and Hispanic officers who took the test. The settlement was spurred in part by a pressing need in the department for more sergeants. But then white officers who had not been promoted because they didn't achieve high enough scores, filed an appeal now before the Supreme Court. They said the earlier settlement discriminated against them because black and Hispanic officers who had received the same scores or even lower had been promoted under the settlement, in spite of these lower scores, to uphold certain percentages of minority sergeants on the force. The Supreme Court remained deadlocked on the issue with a 4 to 4 vote.[201.]

January 14, 1988:

The National Urban League issued its annual report, 'The State of Black America.' The League's president, John E Jacob announced that the economic and social status of blacks in America did not significantly improve in the last decade and may actually have worsened. While America

201. The *New York Times*, from a report by Stuart Taylor Jr

was riding an economic boom, black poverty rose and ‘we have slipped further back from our goal of parity with white citizens,’ Mr Jacob said. The report noted that the average family income of blacks in the 1980's has been 16 476 dollars a year, against 17 765 dollars in the 1970's. Inequities in education and job opportunities, the report said, contributes to despair among blacks, especially the young. But the researchers noted also some gains, mainly by upper-income blacks and in mobilizing black organizations to help resolve some critical problems. The Reagan Administration, Mr Jacob said, had ignored black problems by reducing job-training programs by no less than 70 percent and pushing for cuts in housing and other programs that help the poor. The Reagan policies created a significant contribution to furthering a climate in which racism has been allowed to fester and grow. They have liberated people to be discriminatory in their behavior as well as their attitudes, and therefore, I think they have had a profoundly negative impact on the progression that had taken place, Mr Jacob said.[202.]

January 15, 1988:

A second major racial incident has taken place at the campus at Amherst of the University of Massachusetts in 18 months. A group of minority students has occupied a University building and vowed to remain there until their demands have been met. The protest follows a serious racial incident in which two black students, who were at the time with a white woman were attacked by 5 white students. The two blacks and their companion have filed civil rights and criminal assault complaints against the five. Two of the white students have already been suspended from university housing. ‘Many schools’, wrote the *Times*, ‘have been

202. The *New York Times*, from a report by Lena Williams

grappling with the unsettling notion that their campuses are tainted with the racist attitudes of society at large.'[203.]

January 16, 1988:

At least six people, three of them homeless, have frozen to death on New York City streets in the last week in the bitter winter cold. A newborn baby was left to die in a Bronx garbage pile. The death toll does not include two other men whose frozen bodies were found Wednesday and Thursday at separate locations in Brooklyn and the Bronx. The deaths, more than one every two days, have been attributed to a winter chill that has pushed temperatures as low as 5 degrees in New York City.[204.]

January 17, 1988:

When Clara Watson dropped by Fort Worth Bank and Trust in 1973 to pick up an application for a job as a teller, she said, the chilly reception almost ended her dream of working at the bank. But Mrs Watson who is black, persisted. She was eventually hired. It seemed a success story until she tried to become a supervisor. Three times Mrs Watson applied for the higher position, and each time it was given to a white person. The fourth time, in 1981, she filed a charge with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Now her story is before the Supreme Court and building towards a decision with potentially dramatic effects on the way hiring and promotion decisions are made for millions of workers. Soon after she filed her suit, Mrs Watson left the bank and had considerable trouble finding another banking position in Fort Worth, Texas. Eventually

203. The *New York Times*, from a report by Allan R Gold
204. The *New York Times*, from a report by Mark A Uhlig

she took a job as a baggage handler for American Airlines.[205.]

January 19, 1988:

At Stanford University at Palo Alto in California, everyone still talks of the day nearly a year ago when some 500 students, on a march with the Reverend Jesse Jackson, came up with a slogan for the next generation. It expressed no hostility to the likes of Plato, Saint Augustine, Rousseau and John Stuart Mill, all of whom are on Stanford's current list of required reading for freshmen. But in claiming a kind of equal time for minority contributions to American civilization, their chant: 'Hey, hey ho ho, Western culture has to go', does reflect a demand that is now expected to be accepted by the faculty in the weeks ahead. Responding to the charge that the core reading list reflects what some have referred to as a 'European-Western and male bias' and what others have called 'sexist and racist stereotypes', the Stanford faculty seems likely to approve a measure that would eliminate the Western culture course that is required of all freshmen. The course, which has been offered since 1980, is based on a list of 15 acknowledged masterpieces of philosophy and literature. In its place would be a new yearlong requirement, called 'culture, ideas, and values,' that would include the study of at least one non-Western culture and works by women, minorities and persons of color.[206.]

Muslims with walkie-talkies and solemn stares, some of them armed off-duty officers, have started to patrol part of the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn in another initiative to rid the community of crime and drugs, particularly crack. The patrols of men from the At-Taqwa mosque, at Bedford Avenue and Fulton Street, are backed up by

205. The *New York Times*, from a report by Kenneth B Noble
206. The *New York Times*, from a report by Richard Bernstein

police officers from the 79th Precinct station house. The 24 hour patrol for a 40-day period received support from merchants, community leaders and residents. In a separate action the police raided 12 locations along Fulton Street and made 32 arrests. About 15 Muslims patrolled a three-block area early yesterday to ensure that the crack houses remained closed.[207.]

At Wellesley College near Boston a conference was held to seek answers as racial bias on campuses around Massachusetts was on the rise. Representatives of more than 30 New England colleges and universities assembled under the sponsorship of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Society Organized Against Racism. An increase in the number of racial and anti-Semitic incidents on campuses is forcing soul-searching at many of the nation's institutions of higher learning. Many educators and academicians have often regarded universities, with an emphasis on intellectual and moral leadership, as relatively free of racist taint. But now, there is a growing, if grudging, acknowledgement that racism is part of campus life.

The conferees addressed emerging forms of campus prejudice, including quotas for Asian-American applicants, harassment of Jewish women and growing hostility towards homosexuals, according to Sally J Greenberg, civil rights counsel for the eastern states of the Anti-Defamation League.

Some of the Conference recommendations were: Making clear to all how the university and college leadership feels about its commitment to racial tolerance; building into the curriculum multicultural courses; enhancing support for affirmative action programs, including holding administrators and department heads accountable for carrying out policies; hiring more minority faculty and graduate students; focusing on racism and intolerance among faculty members.[208.]

207. The *New York Times*, from a report by Thomas Morgan
208. The *New York Times*, from a report by Allan R Gold

January 25, 1988:

Officials in Oak Park, Illinois, a predominantly white Chicago suburb have been wrangling over a black church's efforts to move into town. The Unity Fellowship Missionary Baptist Church of Chicago, with 1 500 members, all of them black, has been negotiating to buy a Greek Revival Church building in Oak Park. Just before Christmas, the black church made a final offer of 500 000 dollars. They backed their bid with a down-payment of 60 000 dollars. Less than a week later, the all-white village board called a special meeting and voted a local development concern to buy the building instead. This company offered 5 000 dollars more than the black church. At the village board meeting some members expressed fear that large numbers of black church-goers would threaten the prosperity of the business district a few blocks away. One Board member told the *Chicago Sun-Times* that a black church could hurt white demand for services in the village. He continued, 'The only concern is that if you have a church being an all-black congregation, people will begin to perceive the area as a black area. White people tend to react then, it's a black area, therefore I am not going to move in. Or some people might say they will move out.' Of the 55 000 residents of Oak Park, only 16 percent are black.[209.]

January 27, 1988:

Anti-Semitic incidents in the United States increased 12 percent in 1987 reversing a five-year downward trend, according to a report issued by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. New York, the state with the largest Jewish population led the nation with 207 vandal incidents. The League divides incidents into two types: vandalism against Jewish institutions and property, and harassment,

209. The *New York Times*, from a report by Isabel Wilkerson

threats and assaults against Jews and Jewish property. The audit found some of the more serious vandalism carried out by members of a neo-Nazi hate group who call themselves the Skinheads. They have a big impact in California. This state had 137 incidents of anti-Jewish vandalism registered, an increase from 62 in 1986.

A new row emerged in the US over a comment on television by Jimmy (the Greek) Snyder. Richard S Randall professor of political science at New York University remarked in this context on the Op-Ed page of the *Times* that Snyder's injudicious remarks and his subsequent dismissal by CBS 'are the latest indications of the ambivalence many Americans feel about the increasing dominance of major professional sports by black athletes.' When the barriers were dropped, or at least lowered, sports became the magnet, and the ladder for almost instant upward mobility, that they have always been for underprivileged white youths. But 'catching up' alone can hardly account for the remarkable success of blacks in the upper levels of almost every sport to which black youths have had access free of discrimination. Mr Snyder proceeded to offer on television a crude explanation: he said that American black athletes as a group 'are physically larger and stronger than whites, because black people were bred that way in slavery.' Snyder is well off the mark, according to Professor Randall. Whatever isolated examples of designed mating may be found in the long history of slavery, they pale beside a much larger, much sorrier selection. In bringing several million Africans to the New World as slaves, the slave traders and their African allies were themselves selective. The journey and acclimatization to forced labor were even more so: 13 percent of the Africans did not survive the trip and 35 percent more died within a short time of arrival. Even later generations born into and living in slavery continued to face a far more rigorous test of survival than free people. It would defy almost everything we know about the selecting effect of environment if the original survivors and their descendants were not possessed of some very superior constitutional quali-

ties. Some of these have more than a little to do with athletic talent.

Professor Randall pointed out that more than 80 percent of players in the National Basketball Association, more than 50 percent in the National Football League and more than 35 percent in major League Baseball accounted for black players. Since black people make up only 12 percent of the US population, wrote the professor, 'this is an extraordinary proportion, especially since on-the-field jobs in sports are awarded almost entirely on competitive skill and if anything, 'ties' are resolved in favor of whites.'[210.]

February 1, 1988:

US News & World Report offered a review of racial tensions in the Boston area. Last October, the Department of Housing and Urban Development charged the Boston Housing Authority with intentionally discriminating against minorities. 'The situation is a particularly egregious one,' wrote the magazine. Between 1983 and 1985, minorities, who constitute more than four fifths of those on the waiting list for public housing, generally received worse apartments than whites. And they had to wait, on an average, nine months longer. In white South Boston, during the same period, officials simply refused to assign any public housing to minority families. Since 1985, change has been slow, with still no blacks in South Boston and only one minority family for every 50 white families.[211.]

February 5, 1988:

The trial of two former Ku Klux Klansmen charged in the beating to death of a black teenager, Michael Donald (19)

210. The *New York Times*, Op-Ed-page article by Professor R S Randall
211. *US News & World Report*, from a story by Gillian M Sandford

ended in a mistrial when a defendant collapsed during the testimony of a former associate describing how he made the noose to hang the youth's body from a tree. Judge Micahel Zoghby of Mobile, Alabama County Circuit Court said the illness of the defendant, Benny Jack Hays (71) left no choice but to declare a mistrial. Mr Hays's son, Henry Francis Hays, was convicted of capital murder in 1983 and was sentenced to death for the killing of Mr Donald. James Knowles pleaded guilty in 1983 to Federal charges of violating Mr Donald's rights and was sentenced to life in prison on the condition that he co-operate in future investigations. Mr Hays collapsed with chest pains 15 minutes after Mr Knowles, the prosecution's star witness, began his second day of testimony.[212.]

February 6, 1988:

Scott Kern (19) one of the white teenagers in the Howard Beach case in the death of black Michael Griffith (23) was sentenced to 6-18 years in prison. In imposing the less than maximum sentence in State Supreme Court in Queens, Justice Thomas A Demakos compared Mr Kern with Jon Lester, another of the three teenagers convicted of manslaughter and assault in the racially volatile case. The judge recently sentenced Mr Lester (18) to the maximum 10 to 30 years. 'While Lester was the instigator, the one who recruited all the others, the leader, who exhibited the most hate and thirst for violence, this defendant was a follower,' Justice Demakos said of Mr Kern.[213.]

212. The *New York Times*, from a report by the Associated Press
213. The *New York Times*, from a report by Joseph P Fried

February 10, 1988:

When the Supreme Court said in 1954 that segregated schools were unconstitutional, its ruling applied to colleges and universities as well as to elementary and secondary schools. At that time, the laws of every Southern State barred blacks from white colleges and required them to attend separate schools for blacks. To this day, the effort to desegregate those colleges remains difficult and controversial. The Director of President Jimmy Carter's Office for Civil Rights, David S Tatel, reminded the readers of the *Times* in an Op-Ed page article, that a series of judicial and administrative decisions during the Reagan Administration had weakened the primary tool for challenging racial segregation in higher education. The crucial clause is Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits racial discrimination in federally funded programs.

Lawyer Tatel argued that the consequence of this development was that Southern Colleges in fact are still segregated. 'Many black students graduating from Southern High Schools will continue to attend black colleges that, like their pre-1954 predecessors, still have fewer resources and fewer programs and still offer their graduates fewer opportunities than their white counterparts. And there is little that can be done about it,' wrote lawyer Tatel.

February 11, 1988:

In a front-page report, the *Times* announced that the US Government has found that six states fail to meet the goals in desegregation. The Secretary of Education, William J Bennett, acknowledged at a news conferences that six states, plus four others had fallen short of meeting goals and timetables set in 1978 for minority recruitment, faculty hiring and improvement of curriculums and facilities. Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Missouri, Oklahoma and Virginia were only in partial compliance with the Civil Rights Act of

1964, and in particular with Title VI, which can halt Federal assistance to institutions found to discriminate on the basis of race, color or national origin in programs or activities that receive money from the Education Department. The other four states mentioned were Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina and West Virginia. The Governors of the six states defying Title VI have been asked by the Federal Government to submit within 90 days written assurances that each state would implement measures designed to achieve full integration at all educational institutions by the end of 1988.[214.]

February 12, 1988:

Brooklyn, New York houses more than 30 different ethnic groups. The borough suffers from many of the ethnic and racial problems that have become evident in much of the rest of New York City. A Brooklyn summit was held, described as the start of the first borough-wide effort to ease racial and ethnic discord. The conference broke into seven subcommittees to discuss the problems in five primary areas: the lack of understanding of cultures and traditions of other racial and ethnic groups; the failure of the educational system to provide equal opportunities for all groups; the role of the news media and its portrayal of racial and ethnic issues; the lack of job opportunities for youths of all groups, and the role that housing policies and patterns play in segregating racial and ethnic groups.[215.]

Jason Ladone (17) was sentenced to 5 to 15 years in prison for his part in the attack that led to the death of Michael Griffith (23) in Howard Beach, Queens. Justice Thomas A Demakos acknowledged that the background and character of Mr Ladone had been exemplary prior to the incident.

214. The *New York Times*, from a report by Lena Williams
215. The *New York Times*, from a report by Tom Morgan

'Nevertheless,' the judge continued 'that night Jason Ladone was a violent person, who had participated in the reckless death of Mr Griffith and the vicious assault on another black man, Mr Cedric Sandiford (37), who was severely beaten. And this cannot go unpunished.'[216.]

February 14, 1988:

There are 19 000 police departments in the United States. There are 12 black police chiefs in cities, including New York, Chicago, Washington and Houston. There are 42 000 black police officers in America, 35 000 of which are members of the National Black Police Association. In interviews with the *Times*, the nation's black police officers said that conflicts and ambiguities that arise from being 'black in blue' can be humiliating and demoralizing. 'When the white guys finish work, they go home to their white neighborhoods and the black guys go home to the black community,' said Ronald Hampton, a black Washington police officer who lives in a predominantly black section of the nation's capital. Another black officer in Washington said: 'You may be their partner on the job, but the minute you are off duty, it's a different story. It's like you'll find a bunch of white cops hovering in the locker room snickering at something - then when you walk in they stop. Now, what are you supposed to think?'

Despite such problems, most of those police officers interviewed said that their jobs were satisfying and that they believed that there were opportunities to advance. The black officers also overwhelmingly expressed to the *Times* the belief, that regardless of personal likes, dislikes, or prejudice, white officers would come to their aid and that they would aid white officers. All share the view that the relationship between black officers and black communities,

216. The *New York Times*, from a report by Joseph P Fried

where the black police officer sometimes is regarded as ‘a traitor’ and is often even shunned, has improved in recent years. This is in part because of attempts by black police officers to control the high incidence of crime in black neighborhoods. ‘We are tied to the black community by this umbilical cord,’ said Ronald Hampton. ‘We can't sever it, because we have a commonality, and that is our color. We know that if we take off our uniforms, whites would treat us the same as they do other blacks in Anacostia,’ a predominantly low-income black community in the Districk of Columbia.

‘On the one hand we are asked to think of ourselves as being blue, not blacks,’ Sergeant Donald Jackson of the Los Angeles Police Department told the *Times*. ‘I had one fellow-officer, who was white, tell me that if he calls blacks niggers it shouldn't offend me because I am blue, not black.’ But when Mr Jackson began to speak out against such racial slurs, first to superior officers and then to the local news media, he said he was virtually ostracized by whites in the department.

In his book ‘Black in Blue: A Study of the Negro Policeman,’ Nicolas Alex wrote, ‘The black policeman can never escape his racial identity while serving in his official role. He attempts to escape his uniform as soon as possible after his tour of duty. He avoids the friends of his youth in order to avoid learning of their criminal behavior. He does not socialize with white cops after duty hours. In short, he is drawn into an enclave of black cops and becomes a member of a minority group within a minority group.[217.]

February 17, 1988:

Minority students at the Amherst campus of the University of Massachusetts ended their occupation of a school building after administrators met many of their demands on ad-

217. The *New York Times*, from a report by Lena Williams

dressing campus racial problems. The accord brings to a close a peaceful five-day occupation of the African-American studies building by as many as 200 minority students. Their protest had been prompted by another racial incident at Amherst, when on February 7, five white students beat up two black students.

Among actions the University agreed to, were: revising the code of student conduct to detail the consequences of committing acts of racial violence or harassment; making the African-American studies building, called the New Africa House, more a cultural center for minority students as well as accelerating its renovation; setting as a goal a 50 percent increase in enrollment of minority students and working to increase the stipends received by minority and other graduate student assistants; studying the creation of new classes in the history and the culture of various minority groups, and studying how the menus of the student cafeterias could be broadened to include ethnic foods.[218.]

February 18, 1988:

Who wears Dr King's mantle? (editorial *Times*)

In his life, Dr Martin Luther King Jr fought to put an end to segregation, discrimination and, hardest to root out, bigotry. On the anniversary of his birth, many now claim to wear his mantle, to walk in his footsteps... Dr King's weapons were non-violent confrontation and civil disobedience. He sought to dramatize the pain of injustice. But he knew, in the long run, that the most effective way to reduce enmity and bigotry was to bring people together. Like Jesus and Gandhi, he preached that intolerance is a dead end and that violence and fratricide feed on and perpetuate themselves. 'Non-violence,' he wrote, 'is a powerful weapon.

218. The *New York Times*, from a report by Allan R Gold

It is a weapon unique in history, which cuts without wounding and ennobles the man who wields it. It is a sword that heals.'... In large measure because of his efforts, life in America is better today for blacks and other minorities than it was in the 50's and 60's. Yet does anyone think Dr King's work is finished? Ask black children growing up in violence-ridden housing projects in Chicago. Ask young blacks in Detroit, who never had a chance at a decent education or a job with a future. Ask children in New York in foster-care. Ask single mothers on welfare in Newark. Ask the inmates, many of them black, on death row. Martin Luther King's work will never be finished. As long as blacks are diminished, so are all citizens and so is the American ideal of freedom and equal justice. Today, Dr King's mantle is for all Americans to put on; his work remains for all Americans to do.[219.]

February 19, 1988:

A *New York Times* / WCBS-TV poll taken among 1 147 New York City adults has shown that overall 64 percent said the race relations in Manhatten were 'generally bad.' Only 25 percent replied, they were 'generally good.' The survey showed sharply different perceptions between whites and blacks of how the police and the courts treated different races. Among blacks, 69 percent said 'the police generally favors one race over the other.' Only 20 percent said the police 'generally treat both whites and blacks fairly.' Among whites, 37 percent said the police generally favoured one race over the other and 44 percent said both races were fairly treated. Of the blacks who said they saw favoritism in the City, nearly all said it was towards whites. Whites who saw favoritism also said slightly less than a 3 to 1 margin, that it was towards whites.[220.]

219. The *New York Times*, editorial
220. The *New York Times*, from a report by Richard J Meislin

Candidates for the presidency of the United States use a basic framework for their campaign speeches. The *Times* published excerpts on all candidates. Here follow some passages of the standard campaign speech by the Reverend Jesse Jackson:

'I come from a tradition of those who march in solidarity for jobs and peace and justice. In the 60's we marched for civil rights. In the 80's we march for workers' rights. In the 60's we marched to end racial violence. Today we march to end economic violence. Workers of America must have a right to a job and get paid, with security, for the work they do. The American worker is not asking for welfare. He is asking for a fair share - not for charity but for parity. There's something wrong when corporate owners make exorbitant profits while workers lose their jobs, and then get golden parachutes and land in tall grass while workers are put on skate-boards without ball-bearings. On October 19 the stock market crashed, 600 000 family farmers crashed. Auto-workers crashed. Steelworkers crashed. Shipbuilders crashed. Homebuilders crashed. The Equal Rights Administration crashed. Parity for women crashed. Scholarships for our youths crashed. Day care, too, has crashed. Head-start crashed... It's not right to invest in paper and wealth and not in people and industry.'

'The workers must unite across lines and race, sex and religion, and find your solidarity in your predicament, your need for a job, and to get paid when you work. It's not enough to be against scabs. You must be against scab conditions wherein slave labor abroad and cheap labor at home is attempting to take your job. If the scab had had a job, the scab wouldn't have taken your job. The scab is your neighbor. This scheme is to run neighbor against neighbor, and worker against worker, and male against female, and black against white... We're caught between cheap labor at home and slave labor abroad, in South Korea, Taiwan and South Africa. The workers of the world must unite because slave labor anywhere is a threat to organized labor everywhere.'

‘Workers, it's time for a change. Stop drugs from flowing in, and stop jobs from flowing out. It's time for a change. Stop closing down American farms and importing the food. It's time for a change. Stop destroying oil tankers in the Persian Gulf and shutting oil wells in Texas. It's time for a change. Give the working men and women a break. It's time for a change. Are you tired of Reagan? I want to be your President. It's time for a change. My friends, let's fight together. If I can win - all this talk about Jesse Jackson can't win - whoever gets the most votes can win. If I can win, any American can become President.’[221.]

February 20, 1988

‘The 23 000 residents of the Starrett City housing complex, built 15 years ago on the site of the landfill on the outskirts of the East New York section of Brooklyn, have proved that a highly visible, viable, safe, well-kept and integrated large-scale development can encourage maximum minority participation in the community,’ wrote Robert C Rosenberg, President of the Grenadier Realty Corporation and general manager of the Starrett City housing complex on the Op-Ed page of the *New York Times*. He continued, ‘Few people thought it would be possible 15 years ago to maintain a stable population balance of 55 percent white and 45 percent minority in each of our 46 buildings. Our management undertook this enterprise, however, for four basic reasons: We believed that integration was required under both the US Constitution and the Fair Housing Act of 1968 and that this was absolutely vital to the future stability of our urban areas. We also believed that providing an opportunity for minority children to grow up in an integrated setting would facilitate their entry into the mainstream of American life. Similarly, we believed that having

221. The *New York Times*, from a Jesse Jackson standard campaign speech

white families live side by side with minority families is the best way to destroy the racial prejudices and stereotypes that have been eating away at the fabric of our society for much too long. And finally, we believed that the only way to build the political constituency needed to provide funding for government-assisted housing is to disprove the widely held perception that assisted housing will inevitably become segregated minority housing.

Mr Greenberg pointed out that there was a housing shortage of some 200 000 units in New York City and that Mayor Koch's ambitious 10-year housing plan projected only 66 000 new or substantially renovated dwelling units. He further wrote: As long as minorities have restricted housing opportunities, they will apply in disproportionate numbers to assisted housing developments and will, as a mathematical certainty, dominate a chronologically maintained waiting list. And as long as whites will not accept being a minority, invariably the result will be segregated housing unless race is considered in occupancy decisions. Some people for whom I have great respect disagree with our methods, because quotas have been historically used to restrict opportunity. There must be close supervision and controls to insure that quotas are not used to disguise attempts to limit minority participation. Most of our opposition, however, is generated by those who have no interest or commitment to integration, such as William Bradford Reynolds, Assistant Attorney-General in charge of the Justice Department's civil rights division. Judge Roger J Miner of the Court of Appeals asked Mr Reynolds that if Starrett City would likely become segregated without racial occupancy controls, how would a non-racial approach better foster the policies of the Fair Housing Act? Mr Reynolds replied, in effect, that the Government believes the market should decide the racial composition. There are good black housing complexes, he said, and good white housing complexes; there are good black schools and good white schools. The head of the civil rights division was actually arguing for the

repeal of the Supreme Court decision that struck down legalized segregation.[222.]

February 22, 1988

The chief prosecution witness against 14 white supremacists testified in Fort Smith, Arkansas that the death of a tax protester, killed in a gun-fight with law enforcement officers, lead a plot to kill a Federal Judge and a Federal agent. The witness said that at a meeting of the leaders of a right-wing paramilitary group in 1983, the tax protester, Gordon W Kahl, was declared to be the first hero of 'the Second American Revolution.'

The witness was James D Ellison (47) former leader of a white supremacist group and paramilitary training camp in Arkansas. In 1976 Mr Ellison founded a tiny religious and survivalist community near Bull Shoals Lake in Northern Arkansas. The community, which came to be called The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord, or CSA, also became a paramilitary training camp for white supremacists. In April 1985 State and Federal law enforcement officers raised the 224-acre compound, finding stockpiles of weapons including submachine-guns, grenades, explosives and an anti-tank rocket. A 30-gallon drum of cyanide was also discovered. Prosecutors contend that the group intended to use the cyanide to poison public water supplies in New York City and Washington in an effort to trigger social unrest that would lead to a race war and eventually overthrow the Government.[223.]

222. The *New York Times*, Op-Ed article by R C Rosenberg
223. The *New York Times*, from a report by Katherine Bishop

February 29, 1988:

Like a line on a graph, Euclid Avenue in Cleveland, Ohio traces 20 years of race relations in this old industrial town, like an east-west passage from American dream to American nightmare.

'In the east,' reported Richard Bernstein in the *New York Times*, 'it passes stately, affluent neighborhoods, some of them white, some now black, and a smaller number integrated. Closer to town there are districts of neat middle-class clapboard houses with small square lawns and numerous signs of do-it-yourself improvement. Once they were virtually all white, many of them have now become more than 90 percent black.' Then Euclid Avenue plunges into a zone of urban blight as it reaches the old center city, the scene of intense race riots 21 years ago. There the hulks of abandoned brick factories interrupt stretches of dilapidated housing projects and torn-up districts of empty lots deemed by most of the city's residents, white and black alike, as places to avoid, particularly at night.

Cleveland reflects a national pattern much noted among scholars, political leaders and other citizens as the country marks the special anniversary of the Kerner Commission Report. On February 29, 1968 this Commission, appointed by President Lyndon B Johnson to investigate the causes of racial riots in the cities, warned that the country was 'moving toward two societies, one black, one white - separate and unequal.' The Commission was headed by Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois. The Report blamed 'white racism' for the 'continued polarization' of American society, and argued that only 'a compassionate, massive, and sustained Government effort could reverse the overall trend.'

The worst case prognosis of the Kerner Report - the division of the United States into separate but unequal societies - has not come about, but the general direction predicted and the stubborn persistence of the race problem in America have endured. The country certainly has failed to become an integrated society. But it has made remarkable

progress toward racial equality, seen most conspicuously in the expansion of the black middle-class, educated and affluent, that has taken advantage of new opportunities. The percentage of blacks earning more than 35 000 dollars a year rose in constant dollars, from 15.7 percent in 1970 to 21.2 percent in 1986, according to Government statistics.

'The anniversary of the Kerner Report falls nevertheless at a time of great uncertainty.' reported the *Times*. Racial tensions in cities like New York, on college campuses and elsewhere, seem on the increase. While legal segregation is long gone, American society is still divided along racial lines into two communities, uncomfortable, often suspicious, frequently fearful of each other. From many indications the gap between blacks and whites remains almost as wide as it was in the 1960's when the racial riots brought national guardsmen into the streets. Most dramatically, there is a mood of despair and frustration over the most terrible part of the racial picture - the emergence of a black under-class in many American inner cities that has failed to participate in the progress made by many blacks toward a greater share in life.

'The Kerner Report, in talking about two societies moving in different directions, did not capture the fact that there were two groups within black society moving in different directions,' said William J Wilson, a Sociologist at the University of Chicago. 'In fact,' he continued, 'there are three different groups. There's a black middle class that has experienced gradual progress. There's a black working class that has had difficulty holding its economic position because it's been vulnerable to de-industrialization. And there is a black under-class that's slipping further and further behind the rest of society.'

The black under-class itself reflects a painful reality that has slowly become apparent during the passing of the past two decades. It is that the presence of a mostly black, miserable human residue, mired in hard core unemployment, violent crime, drug use, teenage pregnancy and one of the world's worst human environments, seems to be a partial, perverse

result of the very success of other blacks. As many blacks, freed from the constraints of discrimination in Cleveland, Ohio and elsewhere, moved out of the central cities, into the great middle class, the old ghetto neighborhood became ever more empoverished, bereft of professionals, businessmen, artists, and members of cafe society, who earlier provided it, if not with wealth, then, at least, with vitality and hope. Now, black flight from the inner city has left the lower class equally alienated from main stream white society and main stream black society alike.

The inner cities, where the greatest cause of death among men between the ages of 25 and 35 is homicide, still resemble the Kerner Report description of the black ghettos. One dramatic sign of the plight of the inner city is reflected in the disproportionate effect of AIDS on blacks and whites, a disproportion attributable to the prevalence of drug use among blacks. In New York City more than 50 percent of the deaths from AIDS were among intravenous drug users and their sexual partners, a group that is 90 percent black and Hispanic. Some 91 percent of the children born with AIDS in New York, mostly contracted from infected drug addict mothers, were members of those two minority groups.[224.]

March 1, 1988:

Twenty years after the Kerner Report chastised the press for reporting the news ‘with white men's eyes and a white perspective,’ a panel of black journalists said that newspapers and broadcasters had failed to recruit enough blacks into the nation's news-rooms. After a three-day symposium, the National Association of Black Journalists announced at a news conference that American newspapers should double the number of black journalists by the year

224. The *New York Times*, from a full page report by Richard Bernstein from Cleveland, Ohio.

1991. Blacks are making up 3.5 percent of American newspaper editors and reporters (in 1987), while they represent 12 percent of the general population. The panel likewise urged the broadcast industry to halt the steady decline of the number of blacks working in television news - a drop of 13 percent in 1986 from 15 percent in 1979. It also called on foundations to refuse grants to journalism schools that do not employ a single full-time black professor or not make an effort to recruit and retain black students. Only 2 percent of the 12 226 editors and news directors in America are black, according to a 1986 figure.[225.]

'Like a war veteran's reminder of old battles, Mark Jenkins' left arm aches in cold weather just below the shoulder, where a bullet lodged when it shattered the bone last winter', wrote Isabel Wilkerson in the *Times*. 'Unlike the veteran, Mark Jenkins is 15 years old. And his war goes on.'

In the Cabrini-Green housing project on Chicago's Near North Side where Mark lives, families wake up and go to sleep to the sounds of sirens and gun-fire. A year ago he was caught in the cross-fire between rival gangs fighting outside his apartment building. Mark is the youngest son of an unemployed file clerk and a man, who Mark says, has not worked for years. His parents were not married and two of his other siblings, a 17-year-old brother and an 18-year-old sister have different fathers as well. Mark met his father three years ago. He was walking past an apartment building when a woman he had never seen before called him from a window. The woman was his grandmother. She wanted to know if he wanted to meet his father, who lives at the housing project too.

Mark's life in an all-black neighborhood project recalls the warning 20 years ago by the Kerner Commission that the nation was moving 'toward two societies, one black, one white, separate and unequal'. Like thousands of other black youths isolated in the inner city, Mark lives a life filled with

225. The *New York Times*, the source was not indicated

violence and frustration. He knows few working people, home-owners or professionals to give him inspiration or hope. He has little access to the world of most Americans. He lives in a 12th floor apartment with his mother and two of his three siblings in a building that looks like a prison... His world is an urban war zone ruled by three competing gangs. 'I don't hang around with them that much. I don't want to end up dead. They're already shooting at me now...'[226.]

March 4, 1988:

At Dartmouth College in New Hampshire a confrontation has taken place between a black music professor, William S Cole, and four white students accused of harassing the black professor in class. The students concerned, who contribute to a politically conservative off-campus weekly newspaper, The Dartmouth Review, also published an article critical of the professor. Black students and others on campus charged that the article and the alleged harassment were racially motivated. The four white students denied this, saying the article was justifiable criticism of Mr Cole's class. Dartmouth granted a request by black students that the college hold forums on racism in residence halls, culminating in an open meeting on racism on campus. Dartmouth has 3 687 students of which 6 percent are black.

Racial tension at Dartmouth received national attention two years ago when a group of students carried out a midnight sledge-hammer attack on a cluster of shanties erected by students who opposed investment by the college's endowment fund in companies doing business in South Africa. Of the 12 students who faced disciplinary proceedings in the incident, 10 were staff members of The Review.[227.]

226. The *New York Times*, from a report by Isabel Wilkerson
227. The *New York Times*, from a report by Allan R Gold

March 6, 1988:

Three white law-enforcement officers, Bill Horton (58), James Hyden (34) and Police Chief Thomas Ladner of Hemphill, Texas, have been charged with murder in the case of the death of black Louisiana truck-driver, Loyal Garner (34). A Smith County inquest jury last month had already ruled the death a homicide. Two brothers, Johnnie and Alton Maxie, both black, and arrested together with Mr Garner on a charge of drunken driving, testified that Mr Garner was beaten in his cell after asking to make a telephone call to his wife. (See the full report, January 5, 1988). They each spent 30 minutes with the grand jury panel. They were involved in a serious traffic accident while returning home from their grand jury appearance. Sergeant James Hudgens of Louisiana State Police said the brothers' station-wagon ran off the road on a curve near Many, Louisiana. Johnnie Maxie was in critical condition at Schumpert Medical Center in Shreveport, Louisiana. Alton Maxie was treated for minor injuries and released.[228.]

'A century ago, Federal Judge Isaac C Parker presided over trials in Fort Smith, Arkansas, and sent 79 men to the gallows in an attempt to bring law and order to the frontier,' reported Katherine Bishop in the *Times*. 'Today, a portrait of the legendary 'Hanging Judge' looks down upon 14 white supremacists on trial in the United States District Court, charged with conspiring to overthrow the Government by force or to murder its officials, including a Federal Judge.'

The organizational affiliations of the defendants in the Fort Smith trial include some of the most militant groups on the far right. Some defendants have been members and leaders of various factions of the Ku Klux Klan while others are anti-tax radicals from the Posse Comitatus. Richard G Butler, the leader of a neo-Nazi group called Aryan Nations, sits at a table with five former members of a violent off-

228. The *New York Times*, from a report by the Associated Press

shoot of his group called The Order, or Brüder Schweigen, which means Silent Brotherhood. Some of the defendants were involved in paramilitary training at an encampment in north-eastern Arkansas known as the Convenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord. Its affiliate, the Church of Zarepath-Horeb, teaches what is known as Identity doctrine, the religious persuasion of most of the defendants. According to this fringe fundamentalism, Jews are the offspring of Satan while blacks and other minorities are 'mud people.' Whites, of course, are believed to be God's chosen ones. The defendants deny that they are racists and believe that others are inherently inferior. Rather, they say, they are 'racialists', who simply want white people to remain separate and pure. Though several of the defendants have already been convicted on armed robberies, murders and bombings committed as part of a far-fetched scheme to establish an Aryan Nation in the Pacific North-West, they have argued here to the all-white jury that they did not want to overthrow the Government, but simply to secede from it. That is not necessarily a dirty word where a statue dedicated to 'our Confederate deed' stands across the street from the Courthouse.

Speeches and pamphlets calling for war and the shedding of blood were simply political rhetoric protected by the Constitution, the defendants said. They also denied that they conspired to murder anybody. The trial is expected to last at least three months. It has been estimated that some 20 000 people belong to white supremacist groups in the United States, where perhaps ten times that many are sympathizers. Two members of the Order who are on trial here were convicted on a Federal civil rights charge for killing the Denver talk show host Alan Berg, an outspoken critic of the extreme right, because he was Jewish. Throughout American History, anti-Semitism and white supremacy have taken root in rural areas.

'What's in the mid of the American South,' asked John Herbers in the *Times*. 'Those who moved away at the height of the civil rights movement of the 1960's find the

changes startling on return. An overt politics of race has given way to a politics of gain, and huge metropolitan areas have brought unprecedented prosperity to many.'

Some long-term trends have made the region more like the rest of the nation. The percentage of blacks has steadily declined, because of both post-war migration to economic opportunities in northern cities and the influx of whites from other regions, who are moving south in increasing numbers. Personal incomes, while still lagging, have moved steadily closer to the national average. The enfranchisement of blacks has moderated politics. The big landowners who once ran the governments and powerful committees in Congress have been replaced by metropolitan moderates. Yet there are threads that tie the new south to the old. The conservative values imposed on the population by a now almost extinct agrarian elite persist in the hearts and minds of most whites, both the poor and the rich.

The central cities of the South, like those of the rest of the nation, are filled with poor, jobless blacks. But the South has an additional inequity. Its old agricultural 'black belt', named for the color of its rich soil, is a land of the idle poor, white as much as black, displaced from the farms by machines. Dip into it anywhere from Eastern Texas to the Virginia tide-water and you find the same conditions. Meanwhile, masses of unemployed blacks are no longer migrating to Northern cities because conditions there are equally abysmal for them.

John Herbers also explains the rise of the Republican Party in the South. 'It began growing after the Barry Goldwater defeat of 1964, when rustic insurgents took it over from blacks and the upper middle class. It is now said to be dominated by those of established wealth. This development gives credence to the observation a few years ago by the novelist Walker Percy, that the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr did more to liberate Southern whites than blacks. When whites realized that desegregation had never been a real threat and that they still controlled the econ-

omy, they could end their obsession with race and pursue other interests.[229.]

March 7, 1988:

Newsweek magazine runs a cover-story, 'BLACK & WHITE': How Integrated is America?' (pages 18-44). The principal headline reads: 'Twenty years after the murder of Martin Luther King, blacks have gained a fragile new middle class and a troubled 'under-class', while the civil rights movement itself has fallen into a neglect that hurts everyone.'

'King said in a premonitory speech the night before he was killed,' wrote *Newsweek*, 'that he was thankful; he had been allowed to go to the mountain-top and glimpse 'the promised land' of racial brotherhood. 'But with his death, something of the clement and reasonable spirit he embodied went out of the civil-rights movement, never quite to be replaced. Already, the momentum had passed to the movement's important young bloods, who were raising a fiery tumult in the country's urban slums. The murder of King triggered some of the worst violence yet. Rioting erupted in 40 cities. In Chicago and Washington DC whole blocks were burned down, and from ground level in the smoke-palled ghettos it looked as if there might be no end to racial conflict.'

Twenty years and a social eon have passed. Mercifully, America today is not the bitterly sundered dual society, that the Kerner Riot Commission grimly foresaw. Nor is it King's promised land of racial amity. Rather, it is something uneasily between the two; a society less unequal but also less caring than it was in the 60's.

Newsweek quoted from James Baldwin, who had described eloquently that no group of immigrants came to America

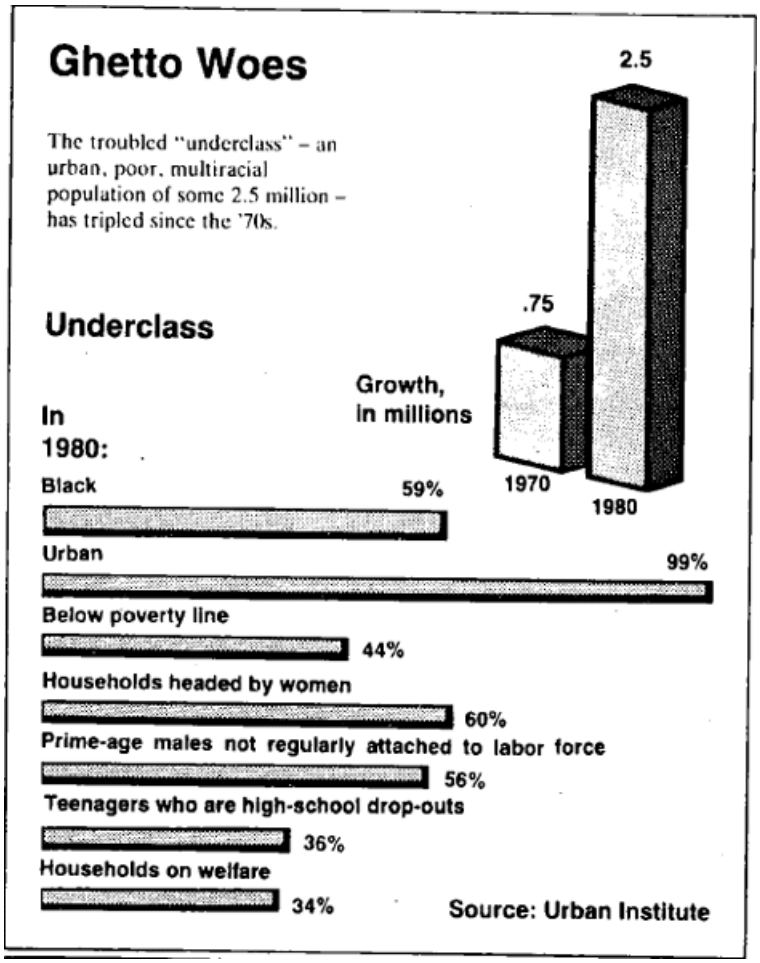
229. The *New York Times*, from a report (one-page) by John Herbers

under the same circumstances as blacks, or endured such dehumanizing peonage. Baldwin: 'No one in the world... knows Americans better or, odd as it may sound, loves them more than the American Negro. This is because he has had to watch you, outwit you, deal with you, and bear you, and sometimes even bleed and die with you, ever since... both of us, black and white, got here - and this is a wedding.'

Newsweek pointed to an estimated 2.5 million American blacks forming the new black 'under-class', or three times what it was in 1970. 'This group generates a disproportionate share of the social pathology usually associated with the ghetto, including high crime rates. It is the crime that keeps white - and black - fear churned up, often to the point where it obscures any more useful impulse - any beginning of interest or sympathy that might lead people to see each other without rancor. For many whites, the threat of violence simply justifies their native bias.' Another lamentable by-product of the steady climb of middle-class blacks toward prosperity is the deep class divide this caused among blacks themselves, leaving the 'under-class' in an underprivileged swamp of social unrest and injustice far behind them.

In another section on the work-place, *Newsweek* presents among others some figures. Blacks now represent 9.4 percent of all teachers in America, 18.1 percent of all social workers, and 7.4 percent of accountants and auditors. In 1987, there were 799 000 black managers and executives in the United States or 5.6 percent of the total. In 1987, blacks' median weekly salary was 78.6 percent of whites'. In 1979 it was 80.2 percent. Blacks are woefully underrepresented in many professions. They make up only 3 percent of all lawyers and 2.3 percent of all real estate salesmen. IBM has been recruiting at black colleges since the 1950's. In 1987, blacks made up 9.1 percent of the employees and 7.2 per-

cent of the managers at IBM compared to 8.2 percent of all employees, and 5.0 percent of managers 10 years earlier.[230] Another 3-page essay is called 'Seeing through black eyes' and written by Vern E Smith with Mark Miller from Memphis, Tennessee. An essay dealing with religion was produced by Bill Barol with Mark Miller from Washington. 'Soul Searching in a Pioneering Town' was composed by



230. *Newsweek* Magazine, by David Gelman with Karen Springen and Karen Brailsford in New York and Mark Miller in Washington

Daniel Pedersen. And so there are essays on education, on relations, and mixed marriages, and on the future of black and white in America. In 1963, Martin Luther King published an impassioned essay that he called ‘Why We Cannot Wait.’ The subject was segregation or American apartheid. But even at an early date King understood that his real mission was broader social and economic change. ‘In that separate culture of poverty in which the half-educated Negro lives, and economic depression rages today,’ he wrote. The solution for that, King realized, was more complicated than integrating lunch-counters. Much more complicated. If he only knew. Twenty years after his death, millions of Americans, black and white, have given up waiting altogether. The second part of the civil rights agenda - a war on poverty - has been all but lost. Worse, the moral energy to reverse the tide of battle has been sapped by complacency and an appalling game of finger-pointing. Year after year, the agony of the ‘lower class’ has been seen as the blacks' problem, the government's problem - anybody's problem but everyone's.[231.]

231. *Newsweek* Magazine, from a report by Jonathan Alter with Karen Brailsford and Karen Springen

Conclusion
by professor Carl Nöffke
Director of the Institute for American Studies, Rand Afrikaans University

The realities about racism in the United States - and of equalism

The Civil Rights Act of 1960 and subsequent action appear to indicate the disappearance of racism in the United States.

Recent academic studies in the United States have indicated bare progress over the past thirty-five years with respect to closing quality-of-life gaps between races.

Professor Calvin A Woodward, Director of the Institute for Geopolitical Studies at Valdosta State College in Georgia, summarized their findings in an article which was published in the Spring 1987 edition of AMERICAN REVIEW, a quarterly published by the Institute for American Studies at the RAND AFRIKAANS UNIVERSITY in Johannesburg, South Africa.

The most recent evidence comes from findings concerning southern states where almost half of the Black population in the United States resides. According to the Commission on the Future of the South, the average income of White families is almost double that of Black families.

Furthermore, the unemployment rate for Black Southerners in turn are twice that for White Southerners.

Similar disparities are evidenced by research recently done by the Southern Center for Growth of Public Policy at Clark College in Atlanta. One major finding is that employed Blacks are underrepresented in all higher paying and higher prestige occupations in the region, there being twice as many employed whites as there are blacks in professional, sales and managerial positions. The ratio is exact-

ly reversed when it comes to low paying and non-prestige occupations, employed blacks providing the bulk of labourers, service personnel and agricultural workers in the south. According to Prof Woodward, quality-of-life profiles at the national level show essentially the same result. According to figures from the US Bureau of the Census, there were three times as many Blacks living beneath the poverty level in the United States in 1985 than there were Whites, a ratio that has steadily remained the same since 1959 when statistics were first made available.

In most respects Blacks in America have made progress relative to their status in earlier years. But the essential point is that so have whites, in most cases at a faster pace. In consequence, according to the Director of the Southern Labor Institute, Blacks have had to run twice as fast just to keep up.

There are gains, but again, also great human tragedies in the racial field.

One indicator is family breakdown, the proportion of intact husband-wife families dropping from 73 percent in 1965 to 59 percent 15 years later. In the same period illegitimate births among blacks rose from 28 percent to 48 percent of all black births. In similar vein are facts about Labour-force participation (LFP) of black young people, the LFP for blacks falling far below that for whites when thirty years ago the ratio was almost equal.

And many gains made in education have been negated by disorder in mainly black inner-city schools where achievers are more often than not jeered at and taunted by their racial peers. This while today more blacks than before may remain longer in school and while funds for black education have increased, the quality of their education and the value of the diploma they receive, remained low.

According to a recent study *Apartheid in America* by James A Kushner residential segregation is pervasive. In addition, the degree of separation is increasing so that today ‘the overwhelming majority of urban blacks reside in predominantly or solidly black census tracts.’

It is against the background of American realities that the American value system should be judged. American policy, under both the Carter and Reagan administrations, has increasingly been committed to the global export of American values, expressed by Mr George Shultz, Secretary of State in the Reagan administration, as 'peace, democracy, liberty and human rights; racial justice; economic and social progress; the strengthening of cooperation and the rule of law.'

Apart from the disparities which continue to exist in the United States it is also evident that American values cannot be exported.

As was stated by Dr Adda Bozeman, professor emeritus of International Relations at Sarah Lawrence College in the United States.

'Democracy,' she said, 'is not a value either in the West or in non-Western societies if its core meaning is simplistically identified with elections, held regularly American-style in accordance with the one person, one vote principle.'

Certain 'values', as was discovered by Mr Willem Oltmans' careful perusal of the American news media over a brief period, do not fit in with what Mr Shultz believes to be the American value system. If these inequalities remain in the States the question arises how the United States can judge other countries and offer prescriptions for racial injustices elsewhere.

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